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Latin America Report



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BRAZIL

EMERGENCE OF 'ARENA' PARTY FOR SARNEY LIKELY IN 1987

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 20 May 86 p 3

[Text] Brasilia--What seemed an absurdity and a practical impossibility a year ago has become a proposal which is not only feasible, but also achievable and even probable. It is the development during or immediately after the work of the Constituent Assembly in 1987 of a large party supporting President Jose Sarney.

The most recent shifts in the party picture, which occurred prior to the 15th, illustrated something more than the doctrinary fragility of the major parties. They revealed the absolute predominance of personal factors in the tit-for-tat exchange which has just benefited the PFL and weakened the PMDB, despite the fact that it remains the major force, and pushed the PDS further toward the edge. It assured almost all of the groups and factions which have bubbled up a guarantee a place in the sun in what will be the most intensive electoral dispute in recent decades. Nothing else is happening, either as a premise or a consequence, in the processes under way for the selection of candidates. There are no parties, except for the ideological minorities scattered among some small groups. What does exist is conglomerates of different concerns, almost anguished concerns, because the only reality of interest now is the vast mass of candidates and the reelection. Or election, for the newer ones, in each and every way equal to the older ones.

The comment once made by Tancredo Neves to the effect that in an election, the only awful thing is losing, is being taken literally. To win, the candidates will do anything, ignoring the most basic party principles. One cannot identify just one PMDB, but several, inasmuch as the party program serves only as a context for the candidates. The same thing is seen with the PFL, and a great deal of space could be wasted listing the individuals who have nothing to do one with the other although they have sheltered under the same umbrella. Miguel Arraes and Nelson Carneiro share as much in common as Orestes Quercia and Waldir Pires, that is to say nothing at all, although all four are state gubernatorial candidates. But would this comparison be any different if we were speaking of Josaphat Marinho and Carlos Chiarelli? Or Aduino Bezerra and Itamar Franco?

Formally arranged for the sake of appearances, the party framework has in reality imploded and it is on this basis that certain government leaders, very

well-placed in the cabinet and the Planalto Palace (an obvious coincidence), and also nominally distributed between the PFL and the PMDB, are working. Those who are thinking of Marco Maciel are right, but more is needed, because there are many who, like the head of the Civilian Household, see a failure of the whole. Until 15 March 1985, the party framework was operating in simple and Manichaeistic fashion, despite dissidence in the PDS. The need to oppose the military regime which was coming to an end and to favor the emerging New Republic increased, in a reversal of the earlier reality. The optimists imagined that the most that would happen in the future would be an increase in the number of supporters of the present and a decrease in the already limited number of cultists of the past, but within the same groups, that is to say with a swelling of the PMDB and PFL ranks and a dwindling in the PDS. Only this was the beginning, not the end, of the new change occurring.

Perhaps with Tancredo Neves in the government, it would have been possible for matters to continue thus for some time, but with Jose Sarney, developments speeded up. If "he" could, why can't we? If "he" started off in one direction, why not follow in his footsteps, even though proceeding in the other direction?

The factors in the equation were maliciously confused, since Sarney, in making a change, risked everything, abandoning the PDS while he still seemed to be a winner, and placing himself in danger of immediate political exile if he did not win the support of many people. But these are only details today, now that we have seen the results. Having guessed right, the government has ironically provided the example for the breakup of the parties. What is needed now is to find the space for the electoral campaign, and if possible, to win. And at the cost of the demoralization of the political parties, over which few will grieve.

It will be precisely at this point, then, that once the polls have opened in the coming elections, those who have cast their lot with the only remaining force, the government of President Jose Sarney, will begin their work. Despite all the proposals and statements, it remains obvious that the Planalto Palace will have a whole range of postulates to set forth or maintain with the new constitution. It would be stupid if it did not act thus. To the extent, then, that the government begins to work to get its constitution approved, it will attract toward it vast numbers of segments and groups. But without any concern as to party origin, among other things because the parties do not know what they want and do not have constitutional outlines, projects and definitions. The divider of the waters, whether or not it comes from the provisional constitutional study commission, will set the government thinking on one side in the Constituent Assembly work, while it may place the very few ideological opponents to it on the other.

In practice, a broad new force will be created to carry out the palace distribution, with the "major" parties lacking the capacity to influence it, much less amend it. It may be that one governor or another will take his place on the other side, but the majority, like the federal benches, will have no way to do so, for lack of an alternative, for one thing, or due to necessity. The time will then come for someone, acting in innocence or malice, to declare that the fly in the ointment has been found. With a view

to its operation during the Constituent Assembly or immediately afterward, it would be more practical and efficient to give this large group a name, or, to speed things up, an ideology.

Overall, the prediction that the PJS, even if identified by some other initials, will inexorably come into existence, is valid. It will come, whether during the day or in the wee small hours. Taking the different proportions and situations into account, it was thus that the ARENA came into being during the ides of 1965. It put it forth that it was the party of the revolution, created to support its proposals and achievements, although to speak the truth it was the party of power, created by an act of force and because of the desire of the political majority to maintain a party cover. Things seem no different now, although everything has been reversed, since the government supports democracy and rejects authoritarianism. So much the better, but the final outcome will be the same. With the passage of time, and depending on unforeseeable circumstances, the predictable minor opposition may be created and may grow and develop. Thesis and antithesis will continue to produce synthesis, which in turn will become a new thesis leading to a new antithesis.

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BRAZIL

SARNEY VIEWS CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS, PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 29 May 86 p 11

[Article by Carlos Chagas: "Quarrelling with the Church? I Gather"]

[Text] "Quarrelling with the Church? Heaven forbid. That is the last thing I would do. Also, because, if there were not another thousand reasons, on the day thereafter, Dona Kiola would land in Brasilia, wielding a broom, to come after me." With this gentle comment, referring to the reaction from his mother in case of a deterioration of relations between the government and the Church, President Sarney began yesterday to analyze--for the reporter from O ESTADO and from JORNAL DA TARDE--the rise in temperature recorded among sectors on either side in recent days.

He had not read the interview granted the evening before by Dom Ivo Lorscheiter which was quite harsh. Informed about its terms, he preferred to pursue the way of understanding and dialogue, saying that he had full knowledge of and supported the social role of the Church and the services it renders to society. As he understands it, this ecclesiastic view of the modern world is of the utmost importance in the effort to correct social injustices. As a practicing Catholic he agrees in general and specific terms. He obviously disagrees with statements attributed to Dom Ivo who charged the administration with being "fascist" because it refused to allow foreign missionaries to enter the country. "Since I took office, more than 90 entry visas have already been issued for foreign priests and seven or eight are still being processed through channels; this is perfectly natural."

For Sarney, the agricultural reform expresses the government's determination and will be instituted. This process is already going on, as he emphasized, recalling his series of statements on the topic, one of which was made a year ago on the occasion of the Fourth Congress of Agriculture Workers. According to the president, it is important for public authority to promote the changes necessary within a climate of peace and concord. That includes settling conflicts in the rural areas and putting an end to injustice and violence, both of which are incompatible with Christian ideals. The legacy of Tancredo Neves persuaded the administration to work hard toward the creation of better living conditions in the rural areas, within standards

of reconciliation. Implementing the Land Law means respecting the rural inhabitant and guaranteeing millions of Brazilians the right not to suffer the most degrading of human privations, in other words, hunger. By developing agriculture and guaranteeing jobs for farm workers, we will also get the industries to produce more and we will be able to do away with unemployment in the cities through this kind of work. Guaranteeing land ownership for those who want to work the land is not only an act of reparation for a historical omission which has been going on for centuries but is also a political decision which takes care of the shortcomings of the present and which anticipates the needs of the future. The agrarian reform is not directed against land ownership. It is a means for democratizing it and making it accessible to millions of Brazilians. It is a government program, not a burst of rhetoric. It is a political project, not an exercise in ideological affirmation. It is a search for solution without traumas. In this sense, the Church deserves full praise for what it has done in seeking to settle conflicts, helping the unprotected, and reviving the divine promise that lies in the redemption of those who have suffered injustices. We want justice in the rural areas and we also want that which God gave to man: Peace on earth.

Yesterday morning, in talking to the reporter, Sarney was looking forward to a very busy day. He confirmed the resignation of Minister Nelson Ribeiro, on his request, and he revealed that Pedro Dantas, president of INCRA [National Institute of Land Reform and Settlement], also requested to be relieved of his duties. He said he would take care of both of these matters and that he was inclined to change the group which until now has been working on the agrarian reform issue. But he was doing this on the basis of their initiative since they are the ones who want to leave. He praised both of them, including the dignified way in which Pedro Dantas went to see him the night before, since he believed that he had become the source of problems with Nelson Ribeiro.

The difference in the country today as compared to what it was on 15 March 1985 was recalled by him in a kind of indirect response to criticisms from certain representatives of the Church, such as Dom Ivo, who, in his interview on Tuesday, admitted that he was "shocked by the posture of administration members who today used the same cliches as in the past and who make the situation what it was during the worst time of the dictatorship."

Sarney recalled that his administration made and is making profound reforms but, even more important than that, it contributed to a change in mentality among us. Participation, dialogue, and respect for all represent the trademark of his administration. Right now, in Planalto Palace, finishing touches are being put on the administrative reform which is capable of modernizing, streamlining, and correcting the government machinery. Merit systems will be absolute in public service, just as the reduction in the government deficit will come as one of its immediate results. This initiative will help politicians by doing away with the rule of the "big shot" and political appointments. The administrative reform will call for some bills, decrees, resolutions, and directives. It will not be very easy to obtain passage of the bills this year because of the election campaigns and the need for deputies

and senators to stay in their home states, but he has confidence in the patriotism of Congress. The urban reform will also be brought along.

The administration continues to try to alter the country in structural terms and tomorrow Sarney will depart for the Carajas Mountains, accompanied by the ministers of the economic area and special advisors. He will use this opportunity for a kind of activity review regarding economic-financial measures that are responsible for a wide reduction in inflation and he will also discuss other issues.

The president praised the work of the Provisional Constitutional Study Commission, emphasizing that he was informed to the effect that the draft outline now being prepared already has 400 articles--a number which will certainly be reduced. He will get the suggestions coordinated by Afonso Arinos, probably after a longer period of time than specified in the decree establishing the group, and he is satisfied with the knowledge that important institutional and legal changes are being prepared. He will forward the studies to the National Constituent Assembly, when it meets, starting on 1 February of next year. He will also be able to forward other suggestions.

He recognizes the difficulties faced by the political parties and therefore does not consider it opportune to adopt an orthodox parliamentary system of government. This would require settled and strong parties. He therefore does not feel that anything will come of the emphatically promoted reform of the party setup, at this time, or the creation of new parties. This is a problem for the politicians. He only said that there would not be any "Party of Jose Sarney." His goal is to leave public life at the end of his term of office and he does not intend to remain as leader, constable, or substitute. He wants to devote himself exclusively to literature. He does not think much about the duration of his term of office and he prefers it to be short. This question will be decided by the National Constituent Assembly. Many changes will have to take place in that Assembly, furthermore, including changes in the parties, since the ideological tendencies will serve to differentiate groups and segments from each other.

Talking freely, he commented that, if simple living is already difficult, running the country is much more difficult and, in France, he looked for inspiration for a final comment: "De Gaulle complained of the difficulties of running a country with 600 different types of cheese. Well, things are even worse here. It is even more difficult to run a country with more than 1,000 samba schools, with 130 million soccer technicians, and with constitution drafts which already contain 400 articles."

5058

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BRAZIL

CIVILIAN-MILITARY PERCEPTIONS, ROLES DISCUSSED IN SAO PAULO

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 28 May 86 p 2

[Text] How do civilians and military personnel view each other and perceive each other a year after the return of civilian government to Brazil? As civilian and military personnel, would they like to see the role of the military spelled out in the new Constitution? To answer these and other questions, 12 general officers and field-grade officers of the FAB [Brazilian Air Force], both active and reserve, plus eight civilian specialists in military affairs and constitutional law met in Sao Paulo. The participants in the meeting--"The National Moment and the Air Force"--sponsored by the Strategic Studies Center, with the support of the Ministry of Aviation, agreed in advance that all of them would speak in their own personal capacity, thus not expressing, through their opinions, the positions of the agencies with which they are affiliated. In an informal setting, civilians and military were able frankly to discuss the topic "The Military and the Constitution" without any worry as to whether, at the end of the meeting, there would be any conclusions based on consensus or on a majority vote. Even so, some common positions and observations were derived from this gathering.

For example, there is still an atmosphere of mutual lack of trust between civilian and military individuals. But this atmosphere quickly vanished as the conversation developed and the participants discovered that points of agreement were more numerous than areas of disagreement. In this way, there was a unanimous impression to the effect that misunderstandings between civilian and military personnel are due more to the lack of dialogue and noncomprehension due to ignorance of respective motivations rather than to consciously assumed attitudes.

At the end of the debate on the topic of the subordination of the Armed Forces to the civilian authorities and their removal from politics, the military personnel who participated in the meeting were able calmly to state that they did not want their services to hold any privileged position within the context of all of the republican institutions. They clearly stated their preference for constitutional provisions that spelled out the functions of the Armed Forces in the constitutions prior to the constitution of 1967.

Likewise, the debaters rejected the idea of control over military police by the Armed Forces and, regarding the question of national security, the idea

prevailed to the effect that it would be much better to adopt the traditional term of "national defense" so as to remove from the debate the emotional burden surrounding the term "national security."

The meeting was attended by brigadiers Clovis Pavan, Cherubin Rosa Filho, Murilo Santos, Eduardo Magalhaes Motta, Lauro Ney Menezes, Socrates da Costa Monteiro, Marcio Moreira, Luiz Thomaz Carrilho, Wilson Freitas do Valle, and Flavio da Rocha Fraga; and colonels Ozires Silva and Nelson O de Almeida; the civilians were Antonio Carlos Pereira, Oliveiros S. Ferreira, Antonio Paim, Sergio Balbuena, Paulo Bonavides, Edmundo Campos Coelho, Walder de Goes, and Joao Quartim de Moraes.

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BRAZIL

NUMEROUS ELEVENTH-HOUR CHANGES IN PARTY AFFILIATION NOTED

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 14 May 86 p 6

[Text] The PFL gained 14 more parliamentarians--12 deputies and two senators--yesterday in the final round of party exchanges, the deadline being midnight tonight. This increases its bench in the Chamber to 130 members and that in the Senate to 21. Even singer Elza Soares made contact with party officials yesterday to find out how to affiliate with the PFL and run for a seat in the Constituent Assembly representing Rio de Janeiro.

While the leader of the PDS, Deputy Amaral Neto, harshly criticized the defectors from his party, five more PDS members obtained PFL party cards. They were Senators Lomanto Junior (Bahia) and Moacyr Dalla (Espirito Santo) and Deputies Leur Lomanto (Bahia), Jose Carlos Fonseca (Espirito Santo) and Pedro Ceollin (Espirito Santo). Jose Carlos Fonseca did not inform the PDS leader that he was leaving the party until after he had joined the PFL. "It was a question of political survival," he explained, "and I would have been left alone in my state and unable to win reelection."

On the other hand, leader Amaral Neto enthusiastically welcomed the adhesion of Deputies Moacir Franco (Sao Paulo) and Nelson do Carmo (Sao Paulo), who left the PDP for the PDS. PDS losses to the PFL in the past 15 days included Senator Alexandre Costa and Deputies Edison Lobao and Nagib Maickel, of the Maranhao bench, and Deputies Nelson Morro and Wilson Kleinunbing (Santa Catarina), Osmar Leitao and Alair Ferreira (Rio de Janeiro) and Jonas Pinheiro Mato Grosso).

Fauze Carlos

Deputy Fauze Carlos, of Sao Paulo, elected by the PDS, who has headed the party representation in the Assembly during a number of legislative sessions, left the party yesterday to transfer to the PTB.

This parliamentarian, who as he emphasized is identified with the Brazilian Labor Movement, acted in response to an invitation from Prefect Janio Quadros and the regional executive commission of the PTB in Sao Paulo, issued on the basis of a unanimous vote by its members.

With the departure of Fauze, the PDS bench at the 9 July Palace is reduced to 10 deputies. At the beginning of the legislative session in 1983, the PDS had 22 deputies.

Lacerda Supporters

Just prior to the deadline for party transfers yesterday, almost all of the members of the group which supported Lacerda still remaining in the PFL (Mauro Magalhaes, Terezinha Saraiva and Veiga Brito, among the main ones), as well as the PTB state deputy, Francisco Horta, joined the Liberal Party.

Apart from this group--more than 20 yesterday--another 18 individuals who have not yet chosen their new party affiliation have officially broken with the PFL, and further resignations are expected today.

On the other hand, the PFL gained four new members yesterday. They were former minister Armando Falcao, the former prefect of Nova Iguaçu, Ruy Queiroz, and two brothers, Heitor Furtado, a state deputy, and Fleming Furtado, an alderman. With the resignation of Heitor Furtado, the PDS was left without representatives in the Rio de Janeiro Legislative Assembly.

New PDT Members

With considerable fanfare but with no major leader present, the PDT in Parana announced five new party members yesterday afternoon. This party will compete in the state gubernatorial elections in November with the former prefect of Curitiba, Jaime Lerner, as the running mate, and a federal deputy, Alencar Furtado of the PMB (Brazilian Municipalist Party), as the sole opponent of PMDB Senator Alvaro Dias for the governor's post.

The new PDT members in Parana are former deputy and former secretary of culture Luiz Roberto Soares; Affonso Antoniuk, who was a PTB senatorial candidate in 1982; Paranagua Alderman Massami Takayama (formerly a member of the PMDB); Colombo Alderman Anacleto Poletti; and the former prefect of Cianorte, Nelson Predin. The last two are also former PMDB members. Luiz Roberto Soares did not even appear at the ceremony at which the new membership cards were signed.

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BRAZIL

TERRITORIAL CONFLICTS AMONG CABINET MINISTERS ANALYZED

Brasilia CORREIO BRAZILIENSE in Portuguese 11 May 86 p 3

[Article by A.C. Scartezini, political coordinator]

[Text] The battle among President Sarney's ministers for political space will be stepped up in the next 2 months, to the extent that the definition of the administrative reorganization project designed to eliminate, rework and establish various bodies in the federal bureaucracy, the state enterprises above all, reaches the stage of final details.

It is in this area of organizational redistribution that the ministers will wage their battle to win political space, because the instructions given by Sarney to Minister of Administration Aluizio Alves indicate that the reform is to be profound, with the elimination of parallel administrations and the existence of any more than one bureaucratic body dealing with a given matter.

With this order, the territorial redistribution of the present ministries becomes inevitable, and the ministers may apply to this issue the experience gained in the internal conflicts which have predominated among them since President Sarney took office, and with the greatest vigor following the coincidence of the battle against inflation and the first administrative changes.

And not even the generals are excluded from this widespread conflict. One of the most intensive and silent battles for power occurred within the Planalto Palace, and what is more serious, it was a conflict between civilians and military officers. The civilians were led by Minister Marco Maciel, while the military protagonists were commanded by General Rubem Bayma Denys. This was a dispute about the new regulation governing the authority of the Military and Civilian Households of the Presidency. Maciel's effort to win administration of the Planalto Palace for the Civilian Household, always heretofore the prerogative of the Military Household, and Bayma's reluctance to surrender a part of his territory, hindered the approval of the regulations, which has only just now been achieved.

When the presidential plane took off for Lisbon on the 3rd of this month, Maciel's advisors distributed copies of the regulations Sarney had just signed

to reporters still on the ground at the Brasilia Air Base. Thanks to Sarney's choice, Maciel won the battle.

Maciel and Aureliano

The deference of the president to the chief of his Civilian Household placed Marco Maciel, however, in the center of an internal conflict. Unselfishly, Maciel left the PDS to Aureliano Chaves in order to support the Tancredo Neves-Jose Sarney presidential slate, to found the PFL and to enter the government of the New Republic as a minister.

Despite all these links, Aureliano has been in sharp conflict with Maciel. By way of illustration, on the very Saturday of Maciel's triumph at the Air Base, Aureliano spent 9 hours in his company, but said nothing to him except "good morning" at the beginning of the day and "good evening" at its end.

The dry exchange of greetings began and ended at the Air Base--first, when they arrived to see Sarney off to Lisbon, and later, when they returned from Uberaba, where they accompanied the interim president, Ulysses Guimaraes, on a visit to the annual cattle fair. Between the "good morning" and the "good evening," they spent 9 hours together.

Presidential protocol, which ignores personalities, made a further futile attempt to bring the two closer together that Saturday. While in the aircraft, protocol placed Aureliano in the easy chair beside Maciel, but the minister of mines and energy had nothing to say to the colleague who heads the Civilian Household. On the ground, protocol put them in the back seat of the same Ford Galaxy, but Aureliano made a point of putting an unexpected passenger in the vehicle--the president of the Brazilian Zebu Cattlemen's Association, Nilson Camargo Araujo--in the seat between them. The guileless Nilson talked with each of the ministers, but they exchanged not one remark.

The clashes between the two began in the PFL, which they founded and headed, itself. At the beginning, Aureliano's leadership in the PFL was the stronger, but later Maciel gained strength and surpassed his comrade. Aureliano has resented the decline in his prestige within the party, above all because it would seem that Maciel today is in a better position to become the PFL candidate to succeed Sarney. Maciel's privileged position became even more so when he left the Ministry of Education for the Civilian Household, where he acquired the power to amend any document requiring the presidential signature, and thus to interfere in the work of the other ministries. And more recently, Maciel has taken up the campaign being sponsored on television to get the people to save energy, which Aureliano wanted to manage from the Ministry of Mines and Energy.

Maciel and Funaro

The strong presence of Maciel close to Sarney, together with the presidential succession itself, led the advisors of Minister of Finance Dilson Funaro to feed the fires of the charge made by the periodical VEJA to the effect that top-ranking politicians in the government have boycotted the battle against

inflation. By coincidence, this periodical made Maciel its target at the very moment when the new regulations governing the presidential households came out.

Despite the strength gained from his closeness to Sarney, Maciel did not respond to this volley. He preferred to keep silent and he asked his friends not to comment on the superpower he had acquired. He confessed to being discouraged, and after a telephone call from Funaro assuring him that he had nothing to do with the charges, he continued to be calm and quiet. He was sparing himself trouble.

Funaro and Aureliano

Another victim of Funaro's machinegun was Aureliano Chaves, who is resisting the concept of creating a holding company in the course of administrative reform to manage the funds of all the state bodies. The minister of mines and energy does not like the idea that money might be taken from his state organizations, such as PETROBRAS and its subsidiaries, and given to other more modest--and indebted--organs, and this does not please the minister of finance.

The clash with Funaro, incidentally, places Aureliano Chaves in a delicate position, in the crossfire. He has Dilson Funaro against him. He does not want to talk with Marco Maciel. And his two contenders are on much more intimate terms with Sarney than he is. In addition to this, one of them has the power to amend presidential documents, while the other has the keys to the treasury.

Funaro and Iris

Another unsuspecting victim of Funaro's offensive bursts was Minister of Agriculture Iris Rezende, who was drawn by the Ministry of Finance advisors into a traditional exchange of shots which he would like to smooth over--the traditional clash between the Ministries of Finance and Agriculture about the financial policy for agriculture.

This was a battle which heated up in the first year of the government, when Senator Pedro Simon was in the Ministry of Agriculture. However, Iris Rezende went into this fray waving a white flag, but Funaro failed to recognize it and went on firing--perhaps due to a mechanical reflex. It is true that Funaro telephoned Iris Rezende as well to tell him that his weapon had never fired a single shot against his colleague.

The most recent volley, however, came last week, as a result of the lack of funds at the Ministry of Finance for the harvest for which the government must pay this year. Something in the neighborhood of 8 billion cruzeiros. With the money unavailable, Funaro tried to reduce the debt, but only where his colleague was concerned, asking a sacrifice of the rural producers with a reduction of the minimum prices by 12.84 percent. In the bargain struck, Funaro did not manage to reduce the sum owed, but did succeed in getting the payment distributed in monthly allocations.

Reinaldo and Fialho

The closest friends of Sarney in the administration are Funaro and Maciel, but in his personal life, Ministers of Transportation and Irrigation Jose Reinaldo Tavares and Vicente Fialho, respectively, are more important. And both were also involved in the exchange of shots with Funaro in "defense" of the anti-inflationary package.

Neither one, however, is concerned. Jose Reinaldo and Fialho believe that the confidence their friend Sarney has in them is a stronger factor. Moreover, both like to render accounts to Sarney personally, and they talk with him directly and without intermediaries, preferably during the evenings, at the Alvorado Palace, or on weekends, at the Sao Jose do Pericumã location.

Antonio Carlos

Another thing which has provoked irascible reactions among his colleagues is the insistence of Minister of Communications Antonio Carlos Magalhaes on attempting to become more intimate with Sarney, as happened during the last domestic trip made by the president, when he visited the livestock fair in Barretos, in the interior of Sao Paulo, prior to his flight to Lisbon.

When he reached Barretos at the end of April, Sarney was faced with a whole series of banners everywhere he went in the city, all lauding Antonio Carlos, who did not even accompany him on the trip. The banners carried such warm and intimate messages as "We hail our minister, Toninho Ternura."

Surprised, the president asked about the banners. He found out two things. First, the prefecture had had them put up, and second, by coincidence, Prefect Wek Rezek (PMDB) had just been awarded the concession to operate a radio station by the minister of communications.

Funaro Blameless

The conflicts among the ministers are being viewed as natural at the Planalto Palace, where it is believed that it is all a part of the game, and that President Sarney will act in his special capacity as the arbiter of differences to keep the hostilities at a tolerable level. Essentially a political man, Sarney will have no difficulty in reconciling hostile attitudes.

Among the other government officials, the conflicts are interpreted as a battle for political space, the final objective being the campaign to elect Sarney's successor. Thus, Maciel and Aureliano are battling to win a strong position before that time comes. Antonio Carlos is plotting with his colleagues to the extent that he wants to make himself appear, to the military above all, as a civilian leader capable of dealing with the left wing in the battle to elect the successor.

The picture of the seat Sarney will leave empty must be in Funaro's mind as well. Deeply involved in the drafting of the anti-inflationary package, the minister of finance is working valiantly for its success, which could maintain

his status as a national hero until the time of the presidential election. The vigor of his effort has even led him into clashes over his colleagues' territory.

However, with the experience of one who has observed this government from within for a year as minister of health, Deputy Carlos Sant'Anna (PMDB, Bahia) absolves Funaro of any sins in these battles, and explains as follows: "Funaro no longer has any commitment to life--only to justice. He is aware that this is the revolutionary moment of consolidation of the plan against inflation."

5157

CSO:3342/120

BRAZIL

SHIFTS IN POLITICAL ALLIANCES, CONFLICTS SINCE 1982 VIEWED

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 4 May 86 p 3

[Text] Brasilia--If a voter in any state, for example a resident of Sao Paulo, has already been thinking of traveling to his place of birth to exercise his right to vote on 15 November, a word of friendly advice--look closely at the relationship of the candidates, mainly those running for governor, vice governor and Senate seats. There will be some big surprises.

Those who voted in 1982 and in the 15 November 1985 municipal elections will face many difficulties. Today's adversaries are yesterday's allies. Parties which clashed in the past are united today, and those which were united in the past are now opponents.

If the reader comes from Sergipe, for example, he should prepare himself. The PMDB, which fought the Franco family (PDS) so hard for so long, is today supported by this powerful group. The dissident faction in Aracaju Prefect Jackson Barreto's PMDB has allied itself with the PFL of Governor Joao Alves (formerly of the PDS).

An alliance may come about in Rio Grande do Sul between the PDS of Nelson Marchezan and the PMDB of Senator Pedro Simon, with the blessing of the Planalto Palace and Minister of Justice Paulo Brossard. The voter who travels to Piaui will have to be very careful. The old positions will tell him nothing. The PDS of former governor Lucidio Portella (brother of Petronio) and Senator Helvidio Nunes has joined with the PMDB of former governors Alberto Silva and Chagas Rodrigues of the PMDB. Alberto Silva will be the gubernatorial candidate, with the PDS nominating the vice-gubernatorial and one Senate candidate. Presumably the PMDB will nominate the other candidate for a Senate seat.

If the voter in Ceara has within the recent past supported the "colonels" who "split off" from the powerful ARENA when the Bezerra family's PFL emerged, he may be in for a shock. The governor elected thanks to the "colonels' agreement," Gonzaga Motta, belongs to the PMDB today. "Colonel" Adauto Bezerra belongs to the PFL, and "Colonels" Virgilio Tavora and Cesar Cals remain in the PDS. Virgilio, Cals and Bezerra will join together once again against the PMDB of Gonzaga Motta, Mauro Benevides and Paes Andrade. In 1982,

Gonzaga defeated Benevides, but he is now supporting him in the Senate and Paes de Andrade for vice governor, on the Tasso Jereissatti slate.

The struggle waged by Alencar Furtado in Parana against the political-administrative dominance of Ney Braga (formerly of the ARENA and PDS), now in the PFL, was famous. The voter in Parana should leave Sao Paulo prepared for the new picture. Ney Braga will support the candidacy of Alencar Furtado for the gubernatorial post on the Municipalist Party slate, and he will also have the support of Paulo Pimentel's PDS. Geisel's former minister, Karlos Rischbieter, is likely to participate in that same "front" as well, and it will also include Jaime Lerner, who is a member today of Brizola's PDT, and former governor Haroldo Leon Peres, of the PFL. They all oppose Jose Richa of the PMDB.

In Rio Grande do Norte as well, changes have occurred. Those who supported Dinarte Mariz against Aloisio Alves will be surprised. Dinarte's son and heir, Deputy Vanderley Mariz, has left the PDS for the PMDB, and with the support of the Alves family, will run for the Senate. The opponent of this alliance will be the PFL of Governor Jose Agripino Maia, a member of another traditional Rio Grande do Norte political family.

The surprise will come from both sides in Bahia. On the one side are Luiz Viana Filho, Luiz Viana Neto, Luiz Prisco Viana, Juthay Magalhaes, and Juthay Magalhaes Junior, all now members of the PMDB, supporting the candidacy of Waldir Pires, with Chico Pinto on the left and Roberto Santos on the right of the candidate. On the other side is former senator Josafah Marinho (formerly of the MDB and the PSB), who is supported by Minister Antonio Carlos Magalhaes and Governor Joao Durval, who have left the PDS for the PFL. Lomanto Junior, a member of the same group, will run for the Senate. The opponent in the other group will be Juthay Magalhaes. The Bahia of all the saints and all the churches will have candidates for all tastes.

In 1982, businessman Camilo Colla ran for the Senate for the PDS in Espirito Santo and lost. In 1986, this same businessman may again be a candidate for the Senate, but now with the support of the PMDB. The remnants of the PDS in Espirito Santo will support the gubernatorial candidacy of Elcio Alvares, sponsored by the PFL.

The former Maluf supporters in Mato Grosso who left the PDS for the PFL are establishing the PL to support the PMDB gubernatorial candidate, Carlos Bezerra. Those who remained in the PFL, under the leadership of the controversial governor, Julio Campos, are likely to support the local PDT, headed by two former PMDB members, Gilson de Barros and Father Pombo.

Those who travel to Mato Grosso do Sul to vote will have to take great care. The notorious Pedro Pedrossian, former governor and former senator, has joined with powerful businessman Ludio Coelho (formerly of the UDN and the ARENA), who can also rely on the support of former minister Wilson Fadul of Brizola's PDT. The struggle will be waged by this structure against the PMDB of Governor Wilson Martins, a candidate for a Senate seat, and Marcelo Miranda (formerly of the ARENA and the PP), the gubernatorial candidate. An alliance not previously expected is also developing in Santa Catarina. Minister Jorge

Bornhausen's PFL may support the same candidate of Governor Esperidiao Amin (who is leaving the PDS for the PDT) and Senator Jaison Barreto (who has already left the PMDB for the PDT).

Nor is the picture simple in Minas Gerais, Sao Paulo, Goias and other states. The politicians are complicating the life of every voter almost everywhere. Maranhao will be no exception. Senator Joao Castelo, elected in 1982 with the support of Sarney's ARENA, is the leader of the local PDS today, and opposes the president. He is losing party colleagues to the PFL, which will support Eptacio Cafeteira (PMDB), formerly Sarney's adversary.

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BRAZIL

ONLY 7 OF ORIGINAL 23 BIONIC SENATORS MAY RETURN TO SENATE

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 May 86 p 5

[Text] Out of the 23 bionic senators appointed in 1978, only 7 will be able to win a direct term of office on 15 November. Out of the 23 directly elected senators, whose 8-year term also runs out in January 1987, at most 6 will have a chance of re-election. Several will be candidates for governor and federal deputy.

Bionic Senator Juracy Magalhaes (BA [Bahia]), nominated by ARENA [National Renewal Alliance], switched to the PDS [Social Democratic Party], joined the PFL [Liberal Front Party], and recently opted for the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party]. He is included in the group that supports the candidacy of Waldir Pires for state governor, running for a vacancy with possibilities.

Another bionic senator who will have to swap the indirect mandate for the direct mandate will be Afonso Camargo (PMDB-PR [Parana]), the former transportation minister. He and former Governor Jose Richa will be competing for the two vacancies in Parana. In Minas, Murilo Badaro seems to have given up trying for governor and is seeking a direct term in the Senate. He is part of an interparty front in Minas which supports the candidacy of Itamar Franco, running into restrictions from the PCB [Brazilian Communist Party] and the PSB [Brazilian Socialist Party].

Bionic Senator Joao Calmon (ES [Espirito Santo]), formerly with ARENA, who sometime ago switched to the PMDB, may well be re-elected. That will depend on the success of the slate established under the leadership of former Governor Gerson Camata.

In Mato Grosso and in Southern Mato Grosso, the bionic senators will be able to win direct mandates. The two--Gastao Muller (MT [Northern Mato Grosso]) and Saldanha Derzi (MS [Southern Mato Grosso])--belonged to ARENA, to the PP [Popular Party], and switched to the PMDB. They will be deputy leaders of the PMDB in the Senate.

Two other former ARENA members are in a good position to exchange their indirect mandate for the direct mandate; they are Alexandre Costa (MA [Maranhao]), who recently joined the PFL, and Cesar Cais (CE [Ceara]), who remained

in the PDS. Also running in Piaui is bionic Senator Helvidio Nunes who recently joined the PMDB of Alberto Silva and Chagas Rodrigues.

Bionic Senator Milton Cabral (PFL-PB [Paraiba]), will leave the Senate during the next several days; he will be elected stopgap governor by indirect vote of the Legislative Assembly. In Paraiba, the governor and the lieutenant governor resigned to run in the elections and the president of the Legislative Assembly did not take office because he is also a candidate. Cabral will be replaced in the Senate by his alternate Mauricio Leite (PFL-PB) who will be a candidate for federal deputy.

Among the senators elected by direct vote in 1978, who will try to win again on 31 January of next year, the following have a chance of getting re-elected: Fernando Henrique Cardoso (SP [Sao Paulo]) who took over in place of Franco Montoro; Lomanto Junior (BA) who several days ago switched from the PDS to the PFL; Luiz Cavalcante (PFL-AL [Alagoas]), Cid Sampaio (PL-PE [Liberal Party, Pernambuco]), Martins Filho (PMDB-RN [Rio Grande do Norte]), who took over after the death of Jesse Freire; and Aloisio Chaves (PFL-PA [Para]), the former leader of the PDS.

The following are candidates for governor: senators Pedro Simon (PMDB-RS [Rio Grande do Sul]), Henrique Santillo (PMDB-GO [Goiias]), Nelson Carneiro (PMDB-RJ [Rio de Janeiro]), Humberto Lucena (PMDB-PB), and Alberto Silva (PMDB-PI [Piaui]), and Lieutenant Governor Passos Porto (SE [Sergipe]) who recently switched from the PDS to the PMDB.

Senators Jaison Barreto (PDT-SC [Democratic Worker's Party--Santa Catarina]), Eneas Farias (PMDB-PR), Alvaro Lins (PFL-CE), Americo de Souza (PFL-MA), and Eunice Michillis (PFL-AM [Amazonas]) will run for federal deputy. The others will end their careers.

5058

CSO: 3342/127

BRAZIL

MACIEL PREPARES MEMO ON VIABILITY OF POLITICAL MODEL

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 May 86 p 3

[Text] Minister Marco Maciel, the chief of the Civilian Office, did not come out with any long-term predictions as to the political party situation. He admits that the November elections are being used to blur the characteristics of the parties and he believes that more changes will materialize during the work of the National Constituent Assembly, specifically, for ideological reasons and not because of the elections. He does not rule out the assumption that there might be other reshufflings and changes. One of them would be a combination of the delegations that support President Jose Sarney around a single party which could be the PFL [Liberal Front Party], the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party], or a new party formed under the guidance of the Democratic Alliance. There is only one thing that is sure according to him, when he was questioned on that score: Everything will happen in a natural way, from the bottom to the top. Gone are the days of dissolution of political parties by force, as happened during the revolutionary period.

Although he is struggling with a thousand and one problems of an administrative nature, Maciel found time last week for some heavy considerations of a political nature. He prepared a sketch on the political-institutional process which he will submit to President Jose Sarney for his consideration; it has the following content:

"Since we are facing a new institutional organization for the political establishment, we have to think very hard about the viability of our political model. As I see it, it is based on some premises:

"a) A democratic system with an economically and socially differentiated society, such as ours, is incompatible with the two-party system;

"b) In a multiparty system, which is the only system that is viable within Brazilian democracy, it is practically impossible to have a predominant political party;

"c) Without a predominant political party, the basis for the political-parliamentary stability of the government can be achieved only through party coalitions;

"d) Political coalitions in multiparty systems can be worked only on the basis of a doctrinal or ideological identity, through common government programs;

"e) Doctrinal or ideological identity between parties presupposes a multiparty system which expresses, in doctrinaire or ideological terms, the various conflicting interests in pluralist societies.

"Within these assumptions, we must have an explicit model for the Executive Branch which traditionally has existed during the phases of political organization in which the system of shared power prevailed. These features spring not only from the division of power and the sphere of authority specifically designated by law in the country's institutional organization. As important as this factor, which is of a formal nature, there are those that are derived from political practice which imposes some rules upon the exercise of Executive Power in a federal organization which is necessarily decentralized. These characteristics, in summary, are as follows:

"1) The sharing [of power] among the three branches of government cannot provide only for equivalence but must also contemplate equal power among them. In other words, we cannot have a dominant power, according to the essential assumption of Lord Acton, according to whom 'Only power controls power';

"2) The division of influence, prerogatives, and authority cannot be verified only at the level of specialization, between the three branches of government, but must also work at the spatial level, shared equitably between the Union, the states, and the townships;

"3) The political role of the Executive Branch, in the context of the party system, cannot be implemented unless this be done as a function of the indispensable and essential arbitration between the interests of the clashing parties;

"4) The inevitability of party conflicts and their regional, doctrinaire, and ideological interests imposes upon the Executive Branch a posture of standing aside from these conflicts, without which arbitration becomes impossible;

"5) This position of standing aside, which is indispensable for the president's exercise of his role as arbiter, imposes equidistance in election disputes, which are always conditioned by the inevitability of the conflicts of the doctrinaire and regional interests of the parties.

"It is clear that, without a strong, steady, and institutionalized party system, none of these characteristics can be achieved. And this, I assume, has to be a fundamental issue for our coming political and institutional organization. On that basis we will be able to spell out and set up, for operational purposes, the political model to which the Executive Branch and, within it, the Office of the President, will have to subject themselves, so that the system which we are establishing will at the same time be stable, as we desire, and adequate for our real situation, a requirement without which we will not resolve the crisis that threatens the organization of political power in our contemporary world, regardless of what kind of political system we have, regardless of what kind of government system we have."

This text opens obvious prospects for the consolidation of the political model of the New Republic. Regardless of what the National Constituent Assembly comes up with, in developing many more concepts of behavior than legal structures, this represents a preliminary draft which is already undergoing experimental application, a kind of design of political life for new times.

5058

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BRAZIL

HUNGARY SEEKS TO EXPAND TRADE

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 3 May 86 p 13

[Article: "What Can We Sell to Brazil?"]

[Text] Rumor has it in Brazil that the democratic Hungarian government which came to power after the Second World War "forgot" to make peace with Brazil. So for many years after this, at least formally, the South American country regarded itself as in a state of war with Hungary. Even diplomatic ties were reestablished only in 1961. Even this could not hinder the development of commerce. Throughout Brazil they became acquainted with Hungarian diesel locomotives, swimming pool equipment, and educational and medical equipment.

And how do our ties stand now, in the spring of 1986? We talked about this in the Rio office of the Hungarian commercial legation, in the office building built on the banks of Botafogo Bay, with Pal K. Varga, the head of the legation. Last year the bilateral traffic decreased in dollar value as compared to that of the previous year. Purchases originating in Brazil--the vast majority were agricultural products: soy meal, raw coffee beans, cocoa beans--shrank to one-half as compared to that of the previous year, while Hungarian export jumped by 60 percent. However, all of this only meant that purchases in the amount of 126 million dollars were made in comparison to 16 million dollars worth of direct export and 14 million dollars of re-export (i.e. products not of Hungarian origin sold to Brazil). From the beginning the traffic was unbalanced; the Hungarian partner always bought more than what it could sell in Brazil. It is conspicuous that the lion's share of Hungarian product sales, 90 percent, fell into four groups of products: Medicor sells medical instruments, Medimpex pharmaceutical basic materials and intermediates, Terimpex beef intended for canneries, and Metrimpex educational equipment. Further characteristic of Hungarian export directed toward Brazil--and this generally characterizes Hungarian export which yields convertible accounts--is that it is too much characterized by raw materials and products requiring a low level of processing. Last year the proportion of machine industry products also decreased as compared to that of the previous year.

Last year Brazil purchased 13 billion dollars worth of foreign goods, barely 1/1000th of this came from Hungary. What obviously also plays a role in the relatively small value of Hungarian export is of course the fact that Brazilian import, which is regulated by a system that is complex and difficult to survey and that primarily sets up obstacles to the sale of finished manufactured goods, frequently exasperates the life of Hungarian businessmen. But this is only one of the many reasons. In this continent-sized country ties maintained with local organizations and local companies have special significance; however, for the moment few Hungarian companies have independent representation--the largest part of the country is a blank area on the map for Hungarian foreign trade. And when there would finally be a market, there are no more goods: last year, for example, there would have been abundant orders for Hungarian ballbearings, chemical products, electric bulbs, and apples, but Hungarian foreign trade representatives could not ship them in sufficient quantities.

There are, however, encouraging signs. Medicor's multinational branch, Medicor do Brasil, with Attila Csernok, the Hungarian managing director, at its helm, can boost its annual export of several million dollars during the following years: it signed very valuable general contracts in Parai with authorities of the Minas Gerais federated states, and it is negotiating with the educational ministry about university orders; x-ray equipment, electrocardiographs, and blood pressure gauges are among the medical instruments sold or offered. One of the basic principles involved in the work of the multinational to create markets is that it is necessary to get out of the large cities and to negotiate directly with the potential buyers.

Business for Agrober is also developing favorably: Since last year, within the scope of a 15 million dollar agreement, the company is introducing irrigation into agriculture and is setting up fish and duck breeding along the banks of the Sao Francisco River in the state of Minas Gerais on behalf of Codevasf, a state development firm. The work begun several years ago is proceeding well, and negotiations are underway with the federated state of Sergipe for several million dollars worth of orders. Also based on intellectual export is Hydroexport, the business of the firm falling under the supervision of the National Water Bureau: in the state of Parai it is providing practical application of water management methods, in the form of irrigation and water purification, for a sum of 15 million dollars.

The policy of the Sarney government offers numerous new opportunities for engagement of Hungarian companies: it wants to promote irrigation in agriculture and promised additional billions of dollars for instruction in its widespread implementation (Metrimpex is already present in the market with its instructional equipment). But obviously there would be a need to arouse the interest of other Hungarian firms in the 235 million dollar market. Based on this idea, among others, the newly reorganized South American section of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce is sending delegations to explore the market in Brazil and in three other Latin American countries. For the time being, 50 companies are members of the section.

PHOTO CAPTION

1. Rio Headquarters of Medicor do Brasil. To get out of the offices. . .

12588

CSO: 2500/308

BRAZIL

BRIEFS

CROP REDUCTION FORECAST REDUCED--According to data disclosed yesterday by the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), Brazil will this year have to produce 38,110,281 tons of cereal crops (herbaceous cotton, peanuts, rice, beans, castor-oil plants, soybeans, sorghum, and wheat) against 37,330,636 tons last year. This estimate is based on surveys conducted during April although the results of the second peanut harvest in Bahia had not yet been compiled, along with those for the second bean harvest in the North-Northeast, in Rio, and in the Federal District, as well as the soybean output of Parana. The estimates disclosed yesterday practically confirm the agricultural harvest expectations that reached the IBGE last month, especially regarding changes in the output of herbaceous cotton (up 11 percent), corn (up 5 percent), soybean (up 1.5 percent), and onions (down 5 percent). An output of 2,091,481 tons this year was expected for herbaceous cotton; this is due primarily to the improvement in weather conditions, mostly in Parana, which materialized this month. However, in spite of the improved expectations for April as compared to March, the IBGE continues to believe that there will be a decline in the annual output of this product which has now been calculated at 21.1 percent. The April figures also point to a decline in this year's soybean harvest which should turn out to be around 13.5 million tons or 27 percent less than the output figure last year. [Text] [Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 16 May 86 p .29] 5058

CSO: 3342/127

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

BRAZIL

INDEPENDENCE IN SATELLITE, ROCKET TECHNOLOGY SEEN BY 1990

Rio de Janeiro MANCHETE in Portuguese 31 May 86 pp 46-53

[Article by Durval Ferreira: "This Will be the First Brazilian Satellite in Space"]

[Text] MANCHETE gives you a first-hand look at our most important step forward on the march toward the cosmos.

Before the end of the decade, Brazil will put 100-percent Brazilian satellites into orbit, carried by rockets that will also be 100-percent domestic. Some 3 years prior to this extraordinary achievement, MANCHETE, using artists' conceptions from the Institute of Space Activities, IAE, shows you what the first satellite launch and deployment--to take place at the future base at Alcantara, in the State of Maranhao--will be like. We also trace the route taken by Brazilian technicians and scientists to overcome the lack of technological information (the nations that have this expertise do not give it up) and to proceed to develop satellites and rockets until they reached the threshold of the cosmos.

The dream began to become reality with the first launch--a successful one--of the meteorological rocket Sonda I from the base at Barriera do Inferno, in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, in 1966. That was enough. Based on that first shot, the research and development of vehicles, components, and instruments, and especially the training of human resources in space activities surged forward. All this went on despite the ups and downs of the crises that swept the country. After Sonda I, the patriarch of the Sonda "family", came three more generations of rockets, each one more powerful than the one before it. The last of those, Sonda IV, is giving rise to a fifth generation, the gigantic Sonda V or SLV (Satellite Launch Vehicle). Parts of the SLV are being manufactured, others already being tested, and some are still on the drawing board, where the process is aided by computers. Little by little it is taking shape, with plans for testing in about 1987. Once proven, the SLV will be used to launch the four satellites Brazil has planned: two to collect data and two for remote sensing tasks.

Sao Jose dos Campos, in the state of Sao Paulo, is the nerve center of Brazilian high technology. That is where major manufacturers and exporters of advanced war materiel, such as Avibras and Engesa, are located. It is also the home of Embraer, the largest aircraft manufacturer on the continent. There too, cheek by jowl, are the enormous installations of the Institute of

Space Research, InPE, the Institute of Space Activities, IAE, and the Aerospace Technical Center, CTA, which is part of the Ministry of Aviation. InPE is where the line of applications satellites and their payloads is being developed and the CTA is where the booster rockets, their navigation and control systems, instrumentation, and the launch and deployment techniques are being designed. Although assigned responsibilities in two different fields--satellites and rockets--both organizations were created to aim at a single target: the Complete Brazilian Space Mission, the conquest of space for Brazil organized in 1977 and approved by the Brazilian Commission on Space Activities, COBAE, which is a sort of holding company that directs operations in the sector, as the American NASA does.

The SLV is based on Sonda IV, which was successfully launched last November from Barreira do Inferno. It is considered to be a medium-sized vehicle capable of lifting 300 kg to an altitude of 1,000 km, or 500 kg to an altitude of 700 km. It will have four motors just like those on Sonda IV, "clustered", as technicians say, around the first stage to which they are attached. They ignite simultaneously to give the SLV sufficient thrust to take heavy payloads to high altitudes. Orbital deployment will be completed by thrust from the third and fourth-stage rockets.

IAE occupies a big area of the CTA, one that covers several acres in a zone where both the rhythm of construction of new buildings and the pace of the activities going on inside are nonstop. These are specialized buildings, designed to accommodate the complexities of rocket research and development and the need for continual expansion of the facilities given the volume--also expanding--of the work. Situated among well kept, tree-shaded lawns and streets whose overall appearance reminds one of an exclusive residential enclave, the buildings house departments such as Rocket Projects, headed by Jayme Boscov, an engineer regarded as the Brazilian Von Braun; Composite Materials, or Engine Structures; laboratories such as Data Acquisition and Reduction (which summarizes launch data recorded on tape and evaluates the payload to be carried); Component Development (rocket control systems); Telecommunications, and Inertial Testing (which simulate conditions in outer space). The Rocket Assembly and Engine and Fuels Testing departments are located 15 km away, at the Varadouro plant.

The buildings house the best brains in the field of space vehicles, some of them with PhD's in the subject, all of them worth their weight in gold to any nation that plans to conquer the cosmos--or has already done so. And the rapidity with which they tear through one phase after the other, despite the difficulties of working in a developing country like ours that has just emerged from a burdensome inflationary history, makes them even more coveted.

Thanks to these people, Brazilian rockets have a high national content as regards materials and components, as well as in terms of technological development and design, systems and raw material. The same is true of the personnel at InPE. By passing along technological "packages", InPE and IAE have created a whole swarm of local industries to produce what they need for the satellites and rockets.

COBAE is their main source of funds but, as CTA director Gen Hugo Piva points out, the money cannot be considered as "spent" because of the rapid return on investment it yields for the Brazilian economy in terms of import substitution and the increase in the Gross National Product. Data he showed us indicate that import substitution made possible by the development of materials, machinery, equipment, technologies, etc. that are passed along to private industry has generated dollar savings hundreds of times greater than what COBAE has allocated to the Brazilian Space Mission.

Gen Piva cites just a few among hundreds of examples, such as the machine to produce durable precision seamless aluminum tubing for rockets. The machine turns out pipe for IAE and, when idle for private industry--such as the automobile sector--which was spending millions of dollars on imported tubing, more than is spent on the space program. The production of tool steel is another achievement. It is of incalculable strategic value and basic to the sector, which saves additional millions of dollars every year, while breaking yet another link in technological dependence. Today, several countries, including the United States, import tool steel from Brazil. The third example is that of a special textile machine to make fabric for the parachutes used in recovering rocket payloads. Different porosities are required, depending on the needs of each experiment to be recovered after the parachute opens on re-entering the atmosphere and falls into the sea, where flotation devices inflate upon contact with the water. As with the other machinery, this piece of equipment does not stand idle; it also makes special filters for a number of industries that used to have to import them.

At another point in the research, in order to evaluate the difficulties encountered and overcome, one must remember that the rocket that launches the satellites and places them in orbit can, obviously, launch bombs over great distances with a similar degree of precision. That is another reason why space technologies are neither transferred nor ceded by the countries that have them, (besides, of course, their primary reason, which is to preserve their monopoly). According to Gen Piva, the infrastructure and the technologies are the same for both peaceful and weapons applications. All that is needed for the latter purpose is to develop the delicate navigation and terminal guidance systems that enable a rocket to transport bombs 2,000 km directly to the target. It is not toward that end, however, that the Brazilian effort at space conquest is directed. It is a long way from one point to the other and the question merely serves to illustrate Brazil's journey into space, its attempt to eliminate dependency by conquering space through its own efforts. The country had to start from zero on the road to the infinite, without the arsenals of knowledge already amassed by the developed nations through their activities in space.

A shining example of this can be found in the development of solid rocket fuel. Like the mixing of elastomer--a type of synthetic rubber--with agglutinating and oxidizing agents, which results in an oxygen-rich compound. That compound was researched and obtained in the CTA laboratory and the lab at Avibras, a major manufacturer and exporter of rockets for war purposes. Propellants are the main component of rockets and, due to their strong military use connotation, their technology is extremely closely held by nations which possess it.

A similar effort is being conducted right now by Marco Antonio Raupp, director of InPE. Once again starting at the very beginning, InPE is overcoming

difficult phases in the realm of satellites--application of satellite data to many different areas, satellite functioning, questions connected with the orbit and its parameters (measurements), subsystems for the Brazilian satellites; and the land-based equipment used in launch preparation, deployment in orbit, and satellite use and operation. InPE is well along in this project. Its experts have already built data-collection satellites and are getting ready to finish the remote sensing satellites.

The first type of satellite is part of the data collection program. These satellites weigh 100 kg each and are to be inserted into circular orbits at an altitude of 700 km, with a low orbit inclination and at a 25-degree angle between its orbital plane and that of the equator. In that orbit, they will complete one trip around the earth--sometimes a little above the equator, sometimes a little below due to the 25-degree angle--every 100 minutes, 35 of which will be spent in the earth's shadow. Their task is to monitor and measure temperature, pressure, wind velocity and direction, water levels in rivers and dams, rainfall, air and soil humidity, or insolation indices. To do this, data collection platforms which are little automatic land stations to be distributed throughout Brazil and equipped with sensors, will send a variety of data to the satellites, depending on where in Brazil each one is located. The satellites will store the data in their memories and, when they enter into contact with the receiving stations in Sao Jose dos Campos and Cachoeira Paulista, will transmit it all for immediate use. This will be a help to aircraft navigation and will help predict floods, keep farmers informed of rains or drought, etc.

The remote sensing satellites, which weigh 150 kg each and are shaped like an octagonal prism, will be deployed at an altitude of about 900 to 1,000 km. Equipped with cameras for observing the earth, a multispectral scanner to detect visible and invisible solar radiation (i.e., infrared rays) reflected by the earth, these satellites will transmit images on three bands of the spectrum. The images will be used to make an inventory of mineral resources, monitor crops, follow the course of erosion or ecological recuperation of afflicted areas, locate schools of fish in the sea, spot the spilling of pollutants into bodies of water or their emission into the air and even--as we recently showed you in MANCHETE--detect the minuscule and well hidden termites that are devastating the trees in Alto Xingu.

The key to the success of the launching and operation of the satellites is already in the hands of InPE personnel: It is the capacity to develop systems to control satellites in orbit on three axes, as well as another system--vital to keeping the multispectral scanner aimed at the desired regions--the one that controls orbit and attitude, i.e., maintains the satellite's orientation in space in terms of angles and angular velocities. The system for controlling attitude will be a simple passive one, maintained by a 10-meter long antenna that will unfold in orbit, a sort of bowline for balancing. Control over the remote sensing will be achieved by jets of hot gas commanded from earth. Without the systems that have been developed, the satellites would risk drifting aimlessly in the inertial environment, or being sucked down by the gravity of the earth if they lose their velocity of rotation around their own axis--since their weight is compensated by the centrifugal force generated by that rotation--or of simply getting lost.

In addition to the structures that resist the acceleration force generated by the launch rocket until the satellite enters its orbit, each satellite will have backups for its most important equipment, since these are very sensitive. If one fails, its twin will come into service when ordered to from earth. Finally, the energy supply for the satellites is no secret either. It is assured by solar panels on the body of the satellites or on the deployable arms that will open once the satellite is in orbit and will power the equipment and store the excess power in batteries to be used when the satellites pass through the earth's shadow. In the last analysis, the advances made are so great that InPE is already thinking about developing a scientific satellite program, parallel with the Brazilian Space Mission. These will be satellites for research into solar flares, gamma rays, and irregularities in the ionosphere that affect satellite communications.

It is very possible that President Sarney, depending on the length of his term in office as defined by the forthcoming constitutional assembly, will be able to attend the launch--which is to take place in Alcantara in his home state--while he is still president. If this comes about, when he sees a genuinely Brazilian rocket and satellite go straight up toward the heavens, he will certainly conclude that he is witnessing the greatest moment in national technology and science of recent years. While both rocket and satellite are breaking through the earth's atmosphere toward outer space they will, at the same time, be breaking ties of technological dependency to enable the nation to fly even higher.

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CHILE

RADICAL PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL ON DIALOGUE, RECONCILIATION

Santiago COSAS in Spanish 29 May 86 pp 51-52

[Interview with Radical Party Secretary General Ricardo Navarrete Beganzo by Andre Jouffe, in Santiago; date not specified]

[Text] The Radical Party's headquarters on Santa Maria Avenue, opposite the Museum of Fine Arts, and looking out on the river and Loreto Bridge, resembles those headquarters of long ago, just after an electoral process: the walls with their blackboards filled with bulletins and notices; photocopies of press articles featuring the picture of Enrique Silva Cimma; and a feeling of emptiness that brings us back to the country's political reality: There are traditions and headquarters, but there is also a lack of continuous, massive activity. The rooms and corridors serve as a sounding board for the passage of leaders visiting the party about noon. The huge portrait of Manuel Antonio Matta, retrieved from the north thanks to a Radical collection, hangs in the office of the secretary general of the party founded by Matta y Gallo over 120 years ago, Ricardo Navarrete Beganzo (aged 36, with two children, and 20 years of militancy).

Exiled after the Eleven, he returned to Chile only 3 years ago. His fellow party members describe him as a moderate man in the party.

We Are Not Dead

[Question] Shortly before Alberto Baltra's death, he said that, with the start of Social Democracy, the Radical movement would die. Several years since that assertion was made, how correct was Baltra?

[Answer] I believe that the reality itself gives an answer to that claim. With over 120 years in existence, this party is still alive, with a desire to become the force that governed this country for four presidential terms: 14 years of uninterrupted government which no other political group in the history of Chile has succeeded in emulating. The Radical Party has not died, nor will it die. Our thinking is consubstantial with that of the majority of Chileans. Now, we must give the society the necessary guidance for addressing the claims that are being demanded by the country which, during this period, relate to freedom and democracy.

[Question] If your party's thinking is so consubstantial with that of Chilean society, why isn't this reflected in votes which, contrarily, are showing an increasing decline in members?

[Answer] I think that there are statistics which we cannot fail to acknowledge. Up until the 1960's the Radical Party represented between 15 and 20 percent of the national electorate; and in 1973, it reached 4 percent. These are objective figures associated with 25 years ago and 13 years ago. However, during these last 13 years we have had no opportunity to actually learn the degree of electoral affiliation that the different political movements, groups, or parties have in the country. Nevertheless, we have managed to show some success, essentially in the trade union and association area, in which the political parties have been able to compete during the past 2 years. And, in that respect, we feel quite satisfied, because we are the second-ranking electoral force among teachers, and we have a sizeable participation in the coal sector of the oil industry, and in the Confederation of Private Employees. It is our members who are heading the ANEF [National Association of Government Employees]. In other words, wherever there have been democratic elections, the Radical Party is present. However, the parties' real option is going to be observed and gauged in democracy.

[Question] Commentaries by foreign politicians and journalists indicate that we in Chile are seeking a political boss and not democracy per se; and that an interesting alternative program has not been devised. President Sanguinetti of Uruguay himself made a remark in this regard. At the same time, criticism is made of Enrique Silva Cimma, to the effect that he is seeking political bosses, and lacks charisma, having been described on one occasion as a "deplorable speaker." What do you say about this?

[Answer] This notion of simply pointing out certain political figures as playing the role of political boss when they have been victorious is not correct. I had the opportunity to meet Dr Raul Alfonsín in 1973, and I associated with his family. I talked at length with him. At that time, he was a man who, as president of the Radical Civic Union Party, did not enjoy charisma, was not a great speaker, and did not stand out for his leadership qualities. Nevertheless, the historical political contingencies have given Dr Alfonsín an importance and a role which, owing to his inner capacity and his extraordinary intellectual level, have enabled him to hold the position of a clearcut leader of the Argentine people, and today he is a leader that no one would dispute. I think that a similar phenomenon has occurred in the case of Enrique Silva Cimma: He has intellectual gifts beyond all debate. He has held noteworthy, important positions, such as that of the comptroller general of the republic (in which he served with a completely indisputable endeavor), and he has been a remarkable professor. Now it is likely that he is not a great speaker, and in this connection one must consider the speech that he delivered in O'Higgins Park in 1983, a very special speech which demanded consensus of the parties in the Alliance, and which obviously had to be given in terms that would not bring about or trigger a state of anger or violence that would have been unfeasible for the political period that the country was experiencing then.

So, one cannot gauge Enrique Silva Cimma's capacity for leadership and oratory on the basis of one speech. I, personally, have accompanied him through the country, and have heard his remarks before Radical assemblies and those of workers, and they have been masterful. Enrique Silva Cimma has succeeded in incorporating into the Radical Party a renewed concept of the policy that we have supported.

Concerning the other part of your question, I would like to note that contemporary politics is no longer the politics of persons, leaders, or political bosses, but rather the capacity of the parties to become entrenched in the society. It is no longer possible for an extraordinary man to create parties. Those groups are fleeting and incapable of projecting themselves over the long term.

[Question] While the cardinal was meeting with a leader of MDP [Popular Democratic Movement], some Alliance parties had it in mind to stop the dialogue with that movement. Isn't it contradictory that the top-ranking Church authority should hold dialogue with MDP under these circumstances?

[Answer] We are happy about that meeting. We Radicals have independently adopted the decision to converse with MDP because we are very firmly convinced that, to achieve real reconciliation, all the political forces must participate; no excluding strategy can be used. Therefore, what the cardinal has done is none other than to continue and reiterate a policy that he has been unfalteringly upholding since mid-1985. That is what gave life to the National Accord for Transition to Full Democracy. We are contributing the unity of the opposition with the clear understanding that we are, in that way, helping to prevent the polarization of forces that would cause serious harm to the country's democratic future. We are preventing an exacerbation of the path of violence and confrontation.

A La Adolfo Suarez

[Question] The U.S. State Department is apparently agreed on respecting General Pinochet's presidential term until 1989; what it does not want is his nomination as a single candidate for another term. They have offered two names: that of Hernan Cubillos and that of Sergio Onofre Jarpa, to carry out a transition in the Spanish style of Adolfo Suarez. What do you think of this American outlook?

[Answer] There has been a change in that country's policy toward Chile; and it has been reflected essentially by the change of ambassador, the vote in the United Nations at Geneva on the Volio report, and the declarations made by prominent State Department officials, such as Mr Elliot Abrams. However, we can by no means subject ourselves to this change in American policy. The task of recovering democracy in Chile is a task for Chileans. There is no doubt that the American government has an indisputable importance in all the processes of Latin America and Chile, and is not dissociated from that reality. So, if the United States Government is inclined to aid the democratization process, such assistance is welcome. But that does not subjugate us to them. If the

United States Government has devised a timetable such as the one you have cited, it is also a program different from that of the present government. Hence, there would be a difference with the country's democratic forces, and also a difference with the government of President Pinochet, which has staked all the unrestricted political expectations on the Constitution of 1980 and which is not considering either Adolfo Suarez, nor a Mr Jarpa, nor a Mr Cubillos, but rather is contemplating the reelection of the current president. The American administration should become associated with some of the forces which are in conflict in Chilean society today, and they are those of the democratic opposition. The American contribution to the process would be not to come in and stipulate deadlines that are now proving to be utopian and impossible to specify, because there is no entity that could ensure them: neither the Constitution of 1980 nor the opposition. We are not talking about 1989, but rather about hastening the action that will allow for the country's democratization, so as to return to civilian rule as soon as possible. The ones with whom the United States should speak are not the present government, but rather the majority opposition forces.

[Question] How do you intend to hasten the process?

[Answer] With the greatest wisdom and realism. And, saying this, I acknowledge a group of other parties that prompted us to sign the National Accord, a document supported by the United States House of Representatives, the State Department, the European Community, and the new Latin American democracies. It is a document of broad scope, unprecedented in the history of Chile, because of the times and the crisis which demanded this political stringency. We reject the violent course of action. Acting within the bounds of the agreement, we can only attract the broadest social sectors of the country through social mobilization, the only purpose of which is to succeed in putting an end to the present government. We must reach the point of convincing the present rulers that they have to turn over the political power to civilians.

[Question] Higher-ranking groups in the party claim that there is a great difference between what has been programmed and what is being practiced.

[Answer] The Radical Party must be consistent with its doctrines at present. It cannot commit the stupid act of being attracted by ideological raving that is alien to it and reneges on its tradition. We are, in essence, democratic socialists. And that does not achieve an alienating capitalist system, but rather a socialism with democracy that is profoundly humanist and independent. We are not a party of the center, but rather of the left, because we came into being as such. The fact is that the leftist concept of radicalism has no reason to resemble that of other leftist forces. We must admit that the party's participation in the Democratic Front during 1961 blurred its traditions and was in conflict with its doctrine; but the participation in Popular Unity was indisputably accompanied by assuming positions that were a product of the time. The forces became polarized and the option was reaction or revolution, capitalism or socialism, a process that was not led by the Radicals, but was, rather, determined by the Chilean Marxist forces. So, at that time, the

party assumed positions which were correct in that historical contingency. For the past 3 years, no one can claim that we have said one thing and done another. The party made a political vow that we have been keeping: to struggle for democracy, to unite the opposition, and to offer the country a democratic socialist plan.

[Question] But unity is required for that. What differences are there between Anibal Palma and Enrique Silva Cimma?

[Answer] Our party is democratic, and therefore there is room for differences. The exercise of criticism is part of Radicalism. There are different positions regarding problems, but those differences that might have existed between Palma and Silva Cimma will never undermine the essence nor the basic ideas of the party. In the concrete instance of Palma, he has been engaging in the group's tasks with discipline, and is currently head of the First District of Santiago.

How Many PR Are There

[Question] The public is confused, because, every minute, new parties arrive bearing the name Radical. Why this proliferation of parties?

[Answer] The proliferation of parties and movements is damaging when they are not representative nor derived from conceptual alternatives in programs, but merely stress leaders, pettiness and ambitions. Hence, the proliferation of very small groups of individuals attempting to take the name Radical is damaging: it confuses and distorts. We trust that the citizens will not let themselves be confused by such things, and that, ultimately, those seeking to take the Radical thinking will end up caught in their own trap, whether they call themselves Radical Democracy, or Civic Union.

[Question] Do you have the same opinion of Social Democracy?

[Answer] No, it emerged in Chile during 1973, as a defection of a group of party members. They succeeded in developing a policy to attract, and now stand with a presence of their own. But there is no doubt that their propositions are very much in agreement with ours, which we have been upholding since the last century. Our positions have a great affinity, and for this reason we have established the Social Democratic Federation, as a step toward viewing the feasibility of forming a single party, or giving an incentive for the reunion of some sectors which used to be Radical.

[Question] Finally, would the Chilean Radicals do the same thing that the Argentine Radical president, Raul Alfonsin, did: try the Armed Forces?

[Answer] That is a delicate issue, and it is not dissociated from the spirit that we have been indicating with respect to the talks and the dialogue headed by the cardinal. In our opinion, what is fitting in an established democracy is to turn over to the justice system, which will have to be renovated in the civilian system, the responsibility for dealing with the various crimes

that have been committed in the country during the past 13 years. And it will be the justice system that will apply the pertinent penalties, in an orderly, objective manner. We are not in favor of promoting people's courts, nor do we favor having the exercise of justice carried out on special or irregular levels of authority. It would be absurd. If we want to attain permanent goals, we must act objectively, case by case, and administer justice, penalizing if it is fitting, or not if it is not.

2909

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CHILE

RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA SEEN EXPANDING

Santiago MENSAJE in Spanish No 349 pp 208-211

[Article by Heraldo Munoz: "Chile and South Africa"]

[Text] During 1984 and 1985, a heavy worldwide offensive was carried out to put an end to the South African Government's racist practice of "apartheid," as well as to impede the Pretoria regime's aggression against Angola, Botswana, and other countries, and to end the South African occupation of Namibia. In mid-1985, several U.S. and European banks stopped their loans to Pretoria, while there was a heightening of the overt criticism from American business firms, such as IBM, against "apartheid." In this context, during September 1985, Ronald Reagan's administration, anticipating strong sanctions on the part of the U.S. Congress, imposed on Pretoria a group of punitive measures, including: a ban on computer sales to the South African security agencies; the stoppage of loans to the government; a ban on the transfer of certain types of nuclear technology; and the stoppage of imports of the South African gold coins, the "krugerrands." Simultaneously, Reagan harshly criticized "apartheid" and implicitly admitted the failure of "silent diplomacy" and the policy of "constructive engagement" in the policy toward South Africa; claiming that, from then on, the U.S. would promote a strategy of "active constructive engagement."*

In contrast, at that precise time the Chilean defense minister, Vice Adm Patricio Carvajal, was visiting South Africa and claiming that "apartheid has been magnified by the international press," that "there is a lack of understanding in the world and among the international agencies of the problems of the Republic of South Africa," and, furthermore, that "Soviet imperialism has distorted the incidents that might occur both in South Africa and Chile." **

The statements of the Chilean defense minister reflect the close relations that have developed between the Santiago and Pretoria governments since September 1973. These bonds also explain the coolness of the ties between Chile and most of the African countries, to which Pretoria's racist regime is anathema.

* See TIME, 23 September 1985, pp 36-37.

** Carvajal quoted in EL MERCURIO, 8 November 1985 p C 1.

Economic Relations

Unlike the situation that has been observed in the rest of the African continent, General Pinochet's government has maintained particularly active economic relations with the Republic of South Africa. In January 1976, Chile established a Consulate General in the city of Pretoria (raised to the rank of Embassy in 1981), whereby the trade between the two countries has increased from virtually zero in 1976 to over \$30 million in 1979, reaching almost \$40 million in 1982, and exceeding \$60 million in 1984. * A major share of this increase has been due to the activity carried out by the Chilean-South African Chamber of Commerce, established in 1980, which has become a dynamic, stable entity engaged in promoting trade between the two countries.

Financial cooperation has been another major area in Chilean-South African relations, stemming from the rise in bilateral trade. Thus, a close link has occurred between the banks and financial institutions engaged in granting loans that promote mutual exports. Moreover, the South African Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), equivalent to the former Chilean CORFO [Production Development Corporation], has arranged special loans for Chilean business owners who wish to import capital goods for the execution of "turn-key" industrial projects made in South Africa. To be added to this is the increase in recent years in South African investments in Chile, which are concentrated in fishing activity, manufacture of industrial equipment, mining, and ship construction and repair.

According to information contained in a special 12-page supplement of EL MERCURIO devoted to South Africa, between 1982 and 1984, Pretoria invested nearly \$100 million in Chile, thereby becoming one of the leading investors in the country. ** Meanwhile, the bilateral trade increased by 300 percent between 1978 and the beginning of 1984. What is even more significant, despite the fact that Chile's total trade declined 37 percent during the period 1980-83, the Chilean-South African trade rose by about 57 percent. *** Prominent among the investments made by various South African companies in Chile are the construction of a canning plant in the northern city of Iquique, announced in February 1981, for which the Fedfood and Kaap-Lunene firms of Johannesburg, and the Tarapaca Fishery Company of Chile made a joint investment of \$8 million; **** construction of a Chilean-South African fishery plant in the port

* See statistics in the Central Bank of Chile's "Foreign Trade Indicators," Bureau of Operations, December 1984.

** See "Supplement: South Africa, a Multifaceted Country," EL MERCURIO, 1 June 1984.

*** See LA TERCERA, 31 May 1984, p 14.

**** See EL MERCURIO, 20 February 1981, p A 8.

of Caldera, which opened in June 1984; * and the joint project between the Chilean Navy's Yards and Docks (ASMAR) and the South African firm, Sandock Austral, for the construction, at a cost of \$13 million, of a shipyard in the southern city of Punta Arenas, to be used to repair the fishing boats and large tugs backing the petroleum activities in the South Pacific and the Antarctic seas, which will have a capacity to handle ships of up to 4,000 tons. ** In addition, at the beginning of 1982, the South African consortium, Anglo-American, purchased 40 percent of the ownership of the Hochschild group's companies, thereby becoming joint owner of firms located in Chile, such as Mantos Blancos Mining, the Malloa Agroindustrial Consortium, and Mauricio Hochschild, S.A.I.C.

The most ambitious South African project was unquestionably the one designed to procure fuel for transportation from natural gas reserves and the gasification of the coal reserves existing in Chile, the implementation of which entailed an initial investment of \$1.5 billion, but which ultimately failed to materialize.

On repeated occasions, Chile has participated in international fairs in South Africa, such as the Rand Show, while South Africa has been present with booths at the Santiago International Fair (FISA). In another area of bilateral relations, during December 1980 the vice rector of the University of Pretoria visited Santiago, an occasion on which he signed an extensive "agreement for mutual cooperation and integration in various fields," with the Catholic University of Chile. ***. Also, in October 1982, a group of South African congressmen belonging to the government party arrived in Chile and, as part of their briefing visit, met with members of the Government Junta and some ministers.

Politico-Military Relations

The connections between the Santiago and Pretoria governments have been particularly active in the politico-military realm. And this is due, on the one hand, to the fact that both regimes confront similar circumstances of international isolation; and, on the other, to the ideological agreement converging in a common position of both governments regarding "communist expansion." The latter has been clearly expressed on various occasions, such as in Pretoria, during September 1982, on the occasion of the ceremonies marking Chilean Army Day, when representatives of the Chilean and South African Armed Forces declared that both armies are fighting the same enemy, "international Marxism and

* See EL MERCURIO, 16 June 1984 p A 10.

** See EL MERCURIO, 17 September 1983, p A 1, and JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, 18 June 1984.

*** See EL MERCURIO, 8 December 1980, p C 2.

the terrorism that it is nurturing. * Apart from the ideological elements, there are two factors that have also dynamized Chile's military rapprochement with South Africa. The first is associated with the need for having potential allies in troublesome situations, such as the one that arose in 1978, when the tension with Argentina was exacerbated concerning the southern zone; despite the fact that, at the time, the Argentine military government boasted excellent relations with Pretoria. ** The second, directly linked with the first, arises from the need for the Chilean Armed Forces as a whole to have alternate sources of supplies in the event of a refusal from their traditional suppliers to sell them military equipment.

Owing to the fact that information on arms transactions is "confidential" in nature, it has been impossible to establish exactly the type of amount of equipment that Chile has purchased from South Africa. But there are at least reports indicating that, in 1981, the Chilean Government purchased several units of the "Cactus" ground-to-air missile system from the South African firm ARMSCOR. *** Moreover, a study of the South African arms industry claims that Pretoria's participation in the FIDA-1984 Air Exposition in Chile was a key to the South African strategy of military sales in Latin America; in view of which, as a sign of appreciation, Pretoria reportedly pledged technical assistance for Chile's growing military industry. ****

For the Chilean Air Force, South Africa represents an excellent alternative for purchasing new combat aircraft and equipment, as well as possible technological backup that would enable it to continue developing the nascent National Aeronautics Enterprise (ENAER). As for the Chilean police, particularly the National Guard Corps, they maintain a flow of exchange with their South African counterparts. Finally, there is one aspect of Chilean-South African military cooperation that has proven of particular interest to General Pinochet's government. This has resulted from the joint training programs carried out in South Africa, wherein members of the Chilean Armed Forces have gained experience in counter-insurgency operations, even (according to one report) in the Namibian theater of operations. ***** In this connection, we should stress the case of

* See EL MERCURIO, 29 January 1983, p A 8.

** Furthermore, it was rumored that, in 1978, when war was about to break out between Chile and Argentina, South Africa granted Buenos Aires the right to purchase three warships ordered in Europe, which were in the process of delivery at the time.

*** See "The New Arms Merchants," NEWSWEEK, 9 November 1981, pp 30-33.

**** See Andrew Terrill, "South African Arms Sales and the Strengthening of Apartheid," AFRICA TODAY, Vol 31, No 2, pp 9-10.

***** Rogelio Garcia Lupo, "South Africa: Pinochet's Silent Ally," HUMOR, Buenos Aires, No 117, November 1983.

the commander of the Chilean Air Force Squadron, Roberto Fuentes Morrison, who was in South Africa with a special visa in his capacity as an FACH [Chilean Air Force] reserve officer, taking a "course specializing in cryptography," when he was forced to travel to Chile in October 1985, to testify at a judicial investigation on missing persons in Chile during 1976. At the end of December 1985, when the period of Fuentes Morrison's bail ordered by the courts expired, that officer returned to South Africa to continue the aforementioned special course.

But Chilean-South African military cooperation goes beyond the sale of military equipment. The Chilean Navy has a latent interest in the possibility of updating the South African 1969 proposal for the formation of an organization for the defense of the South Atlantic of the NATO type, in which the South American countries bordering the Atlantic, Chile, and South Africa would participate. But, after the Brazilian opening toward Africa during the 1970's, and the Falklands War, which alienated the Argentines from Pretoria when greater sympathy for the British was perceived in South Africa, the plan became impracticable; and more so under the current circumstances of a democratic government in Argentina and the signing of the Peace and Friendship Agreement between Chile and Argentina in connection with the southern zone.

Visits and Decorations

The heightening of Chilean-South African military friendship is reflected in the reciprocal visits paid by delegations of high-ranking officers of their Armed Forces. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, although almost all the members of the Government Junta have visited South Africa, there has been no knowledge that the Pretoria regime has tendered General Pinochet an invitation to visit that country.

In 1979, a delegation from the South African Armed Forces, headed by their commander in chief, Gen Magnus Malan, arrived in Chile. This visit was repaid the next year by the commander in chief of the Chilean Navy and member of the Government Junta, Adm Jose Toribio Merino, who visited South Africa during November. * The ideological agreement between both Armed Forces was made clear in the remarks delivered by General Malan (later named defense minister in the P. W. Botha government) during the ceremony at which he received Admiral Merino. General Malan declared that the West "has decided to ignore the worldwide threat represented by communism"; adding later that the Chilean Government "had the courage to denounce and to act successfully against the common threat of communism. **

The return visits on the part of South African naval officers were not long in arriving. During February 1981, the chief of staff of the South African Naval Force, Adm Jacob A. C. Wideman, arrived, accompanied by several naval

* See EL MERCURIO, 18 November 1980, p C 3.

** Quoted in EL MERCURIO, 29 January 1983, p A 8.

officers, visited Valparaiso, and met with various Chilean authorities. In May, Rear Adm Martinus Albertus Becker, general director of services for the South African Armed Forces, arrived, having traveled to Chile at the special invitation of Adm Jose Toribio Merino, to participate in the ceremonies marking the Chilean naval victories (21 May). This officer was decorated by the acting chief of staff of the Chilean Navy, Rear Adm Francisco Ghisolfo, who used the occasion to underscore the responsibility that Chile and South Africa share in the defense of the South Atlantic. One of the last visits by a high-ranking South African naval officer took place in May 1983, an occasion when its commander in chief, Vice Adm Andrus Petrus Putter arrived in the country at the special invitation of the commander in chief of the Chilean Navy, to attend the 104th anniversary celebration of the naval battle of Iquique. In addition to touring all the Chilean naval facilities, he visited Punta Arenas, and met with various Chilean authorities. Vice Adm Petrus Putter was decorated with the Star of Military Merit, in the degree of "Great Star," granted by the Chilean Armed Forces.

In May 1981, responding to an invitation from the South African defense minister, Magnus Malan, the commander in chief of the Chilean Air Force and member of the Government Junta, Gen Fernando Matthei, traveled to that country. Upon his return to Chile, he hinted the possibility that, in the future, the FACH might purchase aircraft and military equipment from South Africa, because that country (as General Matthei remarked) has "an excellent industry and technological capacity that could at some time represent material backup for us, inasmuch as we could purchase there products that are denied to us elsewhere." He concluded by saying "this was perhaps the most important part of my visit," although he declined to go into detail. *

Also during 1981, in November, the then head of the National Guard and member of the Government Junta, Gen Cesar Mendoza Duran, traveled to South Africa at the invitation of that country's general commissioner of police, Michael Geldenhuys. Upon returning to Chile, General Mendoza remarked: "The bilateral relations are on an optimal level, and there are many points of agreement between the two countries for mutual cooperation and complementation"; ** a situation which, in the particular instance of the Chilean military-police force, was translated into the establishment of a constant exchange with the South African police. Thus, in mid-December 1981, Lt Gen Michael Geldenhuys arrived in Chile and, after meeting with General Pinochet, commented: "We are very happy to have friends in Chile, because, although we are so far removed geographically, we think the same way." ***

* Quoted in LA TERCERA, 12 July 1981, p 9.

** See LA TERCERA, 10 October 1981, p 7.

***. Quoted in EL MERCURIO, December 1981, p C 3.

Insofar as the representatives of the South African Army are concerned, they have generally come as guests at the ceremonies marking national independence during September. In 1981, the South African military delegation was headed by the chief of staff of the Navy, Lt Gen Pidter Willen van der Westhuizen. In 1983, the level of the South African delegation invited to the September celebration was raised, because, this time, it was headed by the Army commander in chief, Lt Gen Johannes J. Geldenhuys. This was interpreted as a sign that the relations between General Pinochet's government and South Africa were still continuing to thrive. Pursuing this upward direction, in August 1984, the commander in chief of the South African Armed Forces, Gen Constand. L. Viljoen, visited Chile and (during an interview with Pinochet) underscored the friendship and brotherhood that exists between Chile and South Africa, also noting that both countries are faced with similar situations and challenges.

The change in the South African ambassador to Santiago occurring in mid-1984 bolstered the relations between the Air Forces of both countries in particular; because the new diplomat, Antoine Michal Mueller, had served until 29 February of that same year as commander in chief of his country's Air Force. Moreover, in April 1985, the school ship "Esmeralda," visited South Africa on its third voyage to that country (the previous visit dated back to 1981). In conclusion, the most recent milestone in what seems to be a still more heightened Chilean-South African relationship was the visit paid to Chile by the South African vice minister of defense and internal order, Adrian Vlok, who came to witness the FIDA-86 International Air Fair; an occasion of which the South African official took advantage to learn directly about the investments in the Punta Arenas shipyards.

2909

CSO: 3348/638

CHILE

POLITICAL ATTITUDES, TRENDS SURVEYED IN POLL

Santiago HOY in Spanish 26 May-1 Jun 86 pp 21-26

[Article: "The Chilean's Political Profile"]

[Text] There are internal contradictions. The vast majority of Chileans think that religion is important in their lives, but they do not participate in religious ceremonies. Another sizeable percentage think that "the political parties only serve to divide people," but they firmly believe that "without parties there can be no democracy."

The paradoxical conclusions come from a public opinion study devised by the Latin American School of Social Sciences (FLACSO), with the assistance of the Ibero-American Cooperation Institute (ICI) of Spain, and the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation (SAREC) of Sweden.

Using a 28-question poll, the project sought to learn the feelings in our society toward politics. For this purpose, 600 persons of both sexes over age 18, belonging to all socioeconomic strata, and residing in Greater Santiago, were questioned.

Angel Flisfisch, a researcher from FLACSO, remarked: "This is a stringent poll, attempting to discover the most stable features of Chilean political culture."

The poll was taken between 21 November and 6 December 1985. During that period, the national interest revolved around the opposition gathering held in O'Higgins Park. In Geneva, Switzerland, Reagan and Gorbachev were meeting; and on Castillo hill in Vina del Mar, President Pinochet was showing up trotting on Monday morning, 25 November. In the Valparaiso jail, the student Gonzalo Munoz Aravena was murdered by common criminals.

National Problems

Studies on political attitudes are but few in Chile. According to Flisfisch, "There is no previous work with which this can be compared." For this reason, the only political profile of the Chilean made during this decade emerges from the results of this poll.

The investigation starts by spotting the country's major current problems (Table 1). Therein is revealed the impact from difficulties of an economic type, selected by a majority. The propositions "economic problems," "unemployment, lack of a job," "hunger, poverty, distress," and "health, housing, and education," receive 857 mentions (74.6 percent of the total). The low percentage received by political and moral problems is obvious.

Regarding the society in which we live, the relative majority (43 percent) think that "it needs major reforms," while 30 percent think that "it should be radically changed." Only 2 percent deem it "good as it is," and 25 percent believe that "it could be improved with minor changes."

There is a clear perception of the need for changes. According to Flisfisch, "One assumes that underlying this there is at least dissatisfaction. The situation is disturbing."

Nevertheless, when confronted with moral change, the majority feeling (69 percent) among those polled is that the morality and customs in the country are changing "too quickly." A total of 17 percent think that the change is taking place "suitably," and 14 percent, that it is "too slow."

Politics

When queried about their feeling toward politics, those polled showed more negative positions (53 percent) than positive ones (47 percent). Included among the former were "indifference" (29 percent), "boredom" (6 percent), and "rejection" (18 percent). Categorized as positive were "enthusiasm" (7 percent) and "interest" (40 percent).

These results are rated as normal in comparison with other Latin American countries. This feeling may be partially attributed to the steady anti-political propaganda being made by the government, but one should not overlook the fact that there are but few involved in politics in any country.

A feature of inflexibility appeared when the question was asked about principles in politics (Table 2): 53 percent thought that "one should always be faithful to one's own principles," disclosing a more dogmatic, "principled" attitude; and 33 percent believed that, "sometimes one must sacrifice a principle to achieve something important," revealing a pragmatic attitude. And 14 percent noted: "One must know how to adjust to circumstances, without concern for principles," demonstrating a pragmatism devoid of values.

The majority tendency is toward inflexibility, which would influence an attitude rather unfavorable to negotiation.

But this inflexible attitude toward principles is at odds with other tendencies. With a view toward the democratic future, 34 percent believe that it would be better to have "a government with all the parties"; 6 percent would prefer "a right of center government"; and 12 percent, "a left of center government"

(Table 3). The majority choice, in this case 52 percent, is for those alternatives which involve negotiations.

Other options are for a center government (25 percent), a rightist one (14 percent), and a leftist one (9 percent).

The Parties

The previous attitude has an additional explanation (in the view of the FLACSO researchers). Confronted with a questionnaire on political parties (Table 6), the negative attitudes ("parties divide people," 52 percent, and "parties fight one another but they are really all the same" with an identical percentage) were in the majority.

Nevertheless, the positive attitudes ("parties are necessary to protect the interests of the different social groups and classes," with 79 percent, and "without parties there could be no democracy," with 78 percent) were also in the majority.

The apparent contradiction was interpreted as a reaction toward the division caused by the parties' activity and the memory of the partisan disputes of previous decades. This assertion is reinforced in another question relating to the number of parties that should exist. The majority, a total of 59 percent, express opposition to the proliferation of parties. That is inferred from the sum of the percentages supporting the alternatives "that no parties should exist" (13 percent), "that there be a single party" (15 percent), or "that there should be only two large parties" (33 percent).

A percentage fluctuating between 20 and 25 shows a constant negative attitude toward the parties, while 28 percent (comprised of those who selected the options "there should be no parties" and "there should be a single party") demonstrates "antidemocratic tendencies" (in Flisfisch's opinion).

The Government

Starting with that 28 percent with antidemocratic tendencies, one can profile its real configuration in the society further still.

When asked about the government regime (Table 4), six out of every 10 persons polled answered "democracy is preferable to any other type of government"; while 26 percent noted that "one regime gives the same thing as another to people like me," showing apathy and indifference; whereas 14 percent said "under some circumstances, a non-democratic government might be preferable to a democratic one," accepting the response aimed at detecting anti-democratic attitudes.

This last figure (averaged with the 28 percent found in the questions on political parties) enables the FLACSO researchers to claim that, "The anti-democratic component in Chilean society is approximately 20 percent," in other words, a fifth of those queried.

Another observation was the fact that the concept of democracy has evolved for Chileans. Faced with the option that "democracy is good because the majority are always right" (a concept associated with the French Revolution), which received 19 percent preference, the option "democracy is good because it allows the citizens to check the rulers' abuses" (a concept associated with modern democratic societies) received 81 percent.

Flisfisch remarks: "If the concept has evolved and has been learned by the people, this is something that will be corroborated when the same question is asked a few years hence."

It was also made clear that the census-based vote is rejected. When asked whether the vote of the more educated should count more than that of the less educated, only 8 percent thought that it should; while 92 percent rejected the proposition, revealing an egalitarian attitude.

General Preferences

The poll also showed that the country is presidentialist, according to Flisfisch. When asked what the best way of organizing the government was, 55 percent thought that it should be with "a president with great power and Congress should be limited to controlling it"; while 45 percent thought that it should be with "a Congress with great power" (Table 5).

Statism also appeared as a predominant attitude. When asked who is responsible for providing work to Chileans, 66 percent said that it should be the government; 19 percent thought that it should be private enterprise; and 15 percent opted for a mixed method (Table 9). Other similar questions regarding the setting of prices of items of prime necessity and health services brought similar figures.

With respect to types of social pressure (Table 7), the majority expressed a positive attitude toward the act of "petitioning the authorities" (56 percent approve it completely and 37 percent only approve it). Writing on walls appeared as the most repudiated method (29 percent disapprove of it, and 55 percent disapprove of it completely).

As for political preferences, those queried were asked to take a position on a line in which the number 1 represented the most leftist position and 100 the one most to the right. The responses gave 13 percent to the "left" category, 21 percent to the "left of center," 33 percent to the "center," 18 percent to "right of center," and 15 percent to "right."

In terms of the old Chilean political configuration, the "three thirds" arrangement is reproduced (Table 8).

The Role of the Church

When those polled were asked to identify the most significant national actors, the Church (regardless of creeds) occupied a preeminent position: 60 percent

of the responses cited it as the institution "that has contributed most to the country's good during recent years." Ranking second were the Armed Forces and the professional associations (with 10 percent mention). The latter increased to 32 percent in a second round of questions, thus holding the second highest place.

Nevertheless, the Church's preponderance over other sectors of national life is associated with a contradictory attitude. When asked about the frequency with which they attend religious services, 70 percent said that they attended "a few times a year" or "never" while 30 percent fluctuated between "two or three times a month" and "over once a week."

The contradiction was obvious when they were asked about the importance of religion: 82 percent said that it was "very important" or "important" in their lives.

In the family area, one detected a decline in "macho" attitudes. When asked who should make the decisions on the children's education and who is responsible for managing the money for major expenses, the majority were inclined to answer that it should be "the father and mother" (96 and 72 percent, respectively).

But when asked about women working the "macho" attitude (59 percent showed negative attitudes toward it, while 47 percent favored it) prevailed again; although by a small difference, if one considers the fact that this idea was thought to be very much entrenched in Chile

The last statements in the poll were aimed at detecting values. In this regard, 10 questions were asked, four of which were selected by HOY (Table 10).

Faced with the assertion that "the youth should go to the university to study and not to meddle in politics," a strong support was observed (32 percent are "very much agreed" and 29 percent "agreed").

With the proposition that "there is a single truth in everything, the difficult part is discovering it," the total support amounted to 80 percent. This statement (according to the FLACSO researchers) sought to gauge the authoritarian-type attitudes that exist.

Then, with the statement that "the freedom of each individual is more important than social tranquillity," the support and rejection were shared: a total of 53 percent rejected it, and 44 percent supported it.

The final statement ("the working class has purer and better sentiments than any other social class") sought to detect leftist authoritarian attitudes. The proposition received 56 percent support and 41 percent rejection.

The only question in the study which sought politically risky information was the one regarding the National Accord: 75 percent responded that it would be

preferable "if there were government-accord negotiation"; 17 percent came out in favor of the idea that "there should be none"; and 8 percent replied that it was all the same to them. Possibly another contradiction with the inflexibility revealed in other questions?

Key to Table 1:

1. Most important national problems
2. What do you consider Chile's most important problems at present? (multiple responses * to open question) **
3. Topic
4. Economic problems
5. Unemployment, lack of jobs
6. Government, dictatorship
7. Hunger, poverty, distress
8. Political problems
9. Terrorism
10. Social disorganization
11. Health, housing, education
12. Crime, drug addiction, prostitution
13. Lack of communication, moral crisis
14. Human rights, torture
15. Disorganization among the opposition
16. Others
17. Persons
18. Percentage
19. Graph
20. * In this and other questions allowing more than one answer from each person polled, the percentages have been calculated based on the total sample, that is, 600 cases.
21. ** In this and other open questions, the person polled answered in his own words, and the answers were later categorized and coded in the categories which appear in the respective tables.

(1)

Problemas nacionales más importantes

¿Cuáles cree usted que son los problemas más importantes de Chile en este momento? (Respuestas múltiples a pregunta abierta)² (2)

(3) Tema	Personas	Porcentaje	Gráfico
(4) Problemas económicos	385	64%	
(5) Censura, falta de trabajo	362	60%	
(6) Gobierno, dictadura	88	15%	
(7) Hambre, pobreza, miseria	81	14%	
(8) Problemas políticos	80	10%	
(9) Terrorismo	49	8%	
(10) Desorganización social	42	7%	
(11) Salud, vivienda, educación	29	5%	
(12) Delincuencia, drogadicción, prostitución	16	3%	
(13) Falta de comunicación, crisis moral	12	2%	
(14) Derechos humanos, tortura	9	2%	
(15) Desorganización de la oposición	7	1%	
(16) Otros	9	2%	

(20)

En ésta y otras preguntas, que permiten más de una respuesta de cada encuestado, los porcentajes se han calculado sobre el total de la muestra, es decir, sobre 600 casos.

(21)

En ésta y otras preguntas abiertas, el encuestado contestó con sus propias palabras y, posteriormente, se clasificó y codificó las respuestas, en las categorías que aparecen en los cuadros respectivos.

2

(1) Los principios en política

(2) ¿Podría decirme con cuál de estas tres opiniones sobre cómo se debería actuar en política está usted más de acuerdo?

(3) Tema	Personas	Porcentaje	Gráfico
(4) En política se debe ser siempre fiel a los propios principios	285	53%	
(5) En política, a veces, hay que sacrificar algún principio para conseguir algo importante	179	33%	
(6) En política hay que saber adaptarse a las circunstancias, sin preocuparse de los principios	75	14%	
Total	539	100%	
(7) No responde	61	10%	

3

(1) Gobierno futuro

(2) Hablando de futuro democrático del país, ¿qué cree que sería mejor para Chile?

(3) Tema	Personas	Porcentaje	Gráfico
(4) Un gobierno de derecha	73	14%	
(5) Un gobierno de centro-derecha	32	6%	
(6) Un gobierno de centro	128	25%	
(7) Un gobierno de centro-izquierda	61	12%	
(8) Un gobierno de izquierda	45	9%	
(9) Un gobierno de todos los partidos	176	34%	
Total	513	100%	
(10) No responde	67	11%	

Key to Table 2:

1. Principles in politics
2. Could you tell me with which of these three opinions of how one should act in politics you are most in agreement?
3. Topic
4. In politics one should always be faithful to one's own principles
5. In politics sometimes a principle must be sacrificed to achieve something important
6. In politics one must know how to adjust to circumstances, without concern for principles
7. No answer
8. Persons
9. Percentage
10. Graph

Key to Table 3:

1. Future government
2. Speaking of the country's democratic future, what do you think would be best for Chile?
3. Topic
4. A rightist government
5. A right of center government
6. A centrist government
7. A left of center government
8. A leftist government
9. A government of all the parties
10. No answer
11. Persons
12. Percentage
13. Graph

4

Democracia

(1) Me gustaría que me dijera
(2) con cuál de las siguientes frases está usted más de acuerdo.

Tema (3)	Personas (8)	Porcentaje (9)	Gráfico (10)
La democracia es preferible a cualquier otra forma de gobierno (4)	343	60%	
En algunas circunstancias, un gobierno no democrático puede ser preferible a uno democrático (5)	81	14%	
A la gente como yo, lo mismo nos da un régimen que otro (6)	152	26%	
Total	576	100%	
No responde (7)	24	4%	

5

Forma de gobierno

(1) ¿Cuál cree usted que es la mejor forma
de organizar el gobierno en Chile? (2)

Tema (3)	Personas (7)	Porcentaje (8)	Gráfico (9)
Un Presidente con mucho poder y que el Congreso se limite a controlarlo (4)	266	55%	
Un Congreso con mucho poder (5)	222	45%	
Total	488	100%	
No responde (6)	112	19%	

6

Partidos políticos (1)

La gente tiene opiniones muy distintas sobre los partidos políticos, ¿me puede (2) Ud. decir si está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con las opiniones que le voy a dar?

Tema (3)	Muy (9) de acuerdo	De (10) acuerdo	(11) Desacuerdo	Muy en (12) desacuerdo	Total	No (13) responde
Los partidos políticos sólo sirven para dividir a la gente (4)	107 (19%)	194 (33%)	189 (32%)	94 (16%)	584 (100%)	16 (3%)
Los partidos son necesarios para defender los intereses de los distintos grupos y clases sociales (5)	122 (21%)	353 (59%)	97 (17%)	23 (4%)	575 (100%)	25 (4%)
Los partidos pelean mucho entre sí, pero en realidad son todos iguales (6)	86 (15%)	212 (37%)	175 (30%)	105 (18%)	578 (100%)	22 (4%)
Sin partidos no puede haber democracia (7)	169 (29%)	278 (49%)	104 (18%)	23 (4%)	574 (100%)	26 (4%)
Los partidos no sirven para nada (8)	45 (8%)	97 (17%)	244 (42%)	193 (33%)	579 (100%)	21 (4%)

Key to Table 4:

1. Democracy
2. I would like you to tell me with which of the following statements you are most in agreement?
3. Topic
4. Democracy is preferable to any other type of government
5. Under some circumstances, a non-democratic government might be preferable to a democratic one
6. One regime or another gives people like me the same thing
7. No answer
8. Persons
9. Percentage
10. Graph

Key to Table 5:

1. Type of government
2. What do you think is the best way of organizing the government in Chile?
3. Topic
4. A president with great power and the Congress limited to controlling it
5. A Congress with great power
6. No answer
7. Persons
8. Percentage
9. Graph

Key to Table 6:

1. Political parties
2. People have very different opinions about political parties. Can you tell me whether you agree or disagree with the opinions that I shall give you?
3. Topic
4. Political parties only serve to divide people
5. Parties are necessary to protect the interests of the different social groups and classes
6. Parties fight with each other a great deal, but they are really all the same
7. There can be no democracy without parties
8. Parties are not useful for anything
9. Very much agreed
10. Agreed
11. Disagreed
12. Very disagreed
13. No answer

Formas de presión social ⁽¹⁾

7

A veces, para reclamar o dar a conocer su opinión sobre algún problema, la gente realiza algunas de las acciones que voy a mencionarle.

Quisiera saber en qué medida Ud. las aprueba o desaprueba. ⁽²⁾

Tema ⁽³⁾	Aprueba completamente ⁽¹¹⁾	Aprueba ⁽¹²⁾	Desaprueba ⁽¹³⁾	Desaprueba completamente ⁽¹⁴⁾	Total	No responde ⁽¹⁵⁾
Las huelgas ⁽⁴⁾	137 (23%)	260 (44%)	118 (20%)	76 (13%)	591 (100%)	9 (2%)
Hacer peticiones a las autoridades ⁽⁵⁾	331 (56%)	214 (37%)	36 (6%)	8 (1%)	589 (100%)	11 (2%)
Cortar el tránsito ⁽⁶⁾	34 (6%)	83 (14%)	238 (41%)	229 (39%)	582 (100%)	18 (3%)
Ocupación de fábricas o escuelas ⁽⁷⁾	40 (7%)	117 (20%)	183 (31%)	247 (42%)	587 (100%)	13 (2%)
Las marchas ⁽⁸⁾	124 (21%)	224 (38%)	101 (17%)	138 (24%)	587 (100%)	13 (2%)
Rovar murallas ⁽⁹⁾	35 (6%)	57 (10%)	172 (29%)	322 (55%)	586 (100%)	14 (2%)
Tocar cacerolas ⁽¹⁰⁾	121 (21%)	182 (31%)	145 (25%)	138 (23%)	586 (100%)	14 (2%)

8 Preferencias políticas (1)

En esta línea el 1 representa la izquierda y el 100 la derecha.
Por favor indíqueme en qué punto se ubica Ud. (2)

Tema (3)	(10) Personas	(11) Porcentaje	(12) Gráfico
Izquierda (1-25) (4)	68	13%	
Centro izquierda (26-49) (5)	116	21%	
Centro (50) (6)	181	33%	
Centro-derecha (51-75) (7)	100	18%	
Derecha (76-100) (8)	81	15%	
Total	546	100%	
No responde (9)	54	9%	

9 Rol del Estado (1)

¿Quién cree usted que tiene la principal responsabilidad de dar trabajo a todos los chilenos? (2)

Tema (3)	(8) Personas	(9) Porcentaje	(10) Gráfico
El gobierno (4)	394	66%	
La empresa privada (5)	114	19%	
Ambos (6)	87	15%	
Total	595	100%	
No responde (7)	15	3%	

Key to Table 7:

1. Types of social pressure
2. Sometimes, to make demands or express their opinion on a problem, people engage in some of the acts that I shall mention to you. I would like to know the extent to which you approve or disapprove of them.
3. Topic
4. Strikes
5. Making petitions to the authorities
6. Stopping traffic
7. Occupying factories or schools
8. Marches
9. Writing on walls
10. Banging pots
11. Approve completely
12. Approve
13. Disapprove
14. Disapprove completely
15. No answer

Key to Table 8:

1. Political preferences
2. On this line, 1 represents the left and 100, the right. Please tell me at which point you position yourself.
3. Topic
4. Left
5. Left of center
6. Center
7. Right of center
8. Right
9. No answer
10. Persons
11. Percentage
12. Graph

Key to Table 9:

1. Role of the state
2. Who do you think has the main responsibility for providing employment to all Chileans?
3. Topic
4. The government
5. Private industry
6. Both
7. No answer
8. Persons
9. Percentage
10. Graph

Valores (1)

10

A continuación le leeré una serie de frases que la gente dice. (2)

Para cada una de ellas, me gustaría que me dijera si está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo. (13)

Tema (3)	Muy de acuerdo (8)	De acuerdo (9)	Indiferente (10)	En desacuerdo (11)	Muy en desacuerdo (12)	Total	No responde
— Los jóvenes deberían ir a la universidad a estudiar y no a meterse en política (4)	102 (30%)	173 (29%)	9 (2%)	147 (24%)	76 (13%)	597 (100%)	3 (1%)
— En todas las cosas hay siempre una sola verdad: lo difícil es descubrirla (5)	168 (29%)		8 (1%)	86 (15%)	21 (4%)	581 (100%)	19 (3%)
— Es más importante la libertad de cada uno que la tranquilidad social (6)	89 (15%)	172 (29%)	17 (3%)		53 (9%)	586 (100%)	14 (2%)
— La clase obrera tiene sentimientos más puros y mejores que cualquiera otra clase social (7)	123 (21%)		15 (3%)	189 (32%)	53 (9%)	587 (100%)	13 (2%)

Key to Table 10:

1. Values
2. Next, I shall read to you a series of statements made by people. For each of them, I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree.
3. Topic
4. The youth should attend the university to study and not to meddle in politics
5. In all things there is always a single truth; what is difficult is to discover it
6. The freedom of each person is more important than social tranquillity
7. The working class has purer and better sentiments than any other social class
8. Very much agreed
9. Agreed
10. Indifferent
11. Disagreed
12. Very disagreed
13. No answer

2909

CSO: 3348/629

10 July 1986

CHILE

TEACHERS OVERWHELMINGLY REJECT MUNICIPALIZATION PROJECT

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[Text] On Thursday 29 May, the uneasiness between teachers and students was obvious. On that afternoon, the public education teachers were completing a plebiscite called after what they had termed "a measure on which they had not been consulted," and over 40 secondary school students were detained on the streets of Santiago. In the windows of the No 1 Ninas Javier Carrera High School, one read: "Gaete, understand, the high school is not for sale"; and in front of many schools the young people were occupying the sidewalks, refusing to attend classes.

Through partial strikes, street marches, voting, and signs, the slogan all last week was a single one: "no" to municipalization.

The spark of the protest was ignited on Monday, 26 May, when the minister of education, Sergio Gaete, announced that during August the process of transferring the public basic and intermediate educational establishments to the municipalities would be concluded. Only those in the technical-professional and differential area would be left out of the plan. With the resolute tone of his speech at the Diego Portales Building, he made it clear that there would be no going back on his intention to "give a high priority status in Chilean education to the municipality and the community."

'Against Unity and Quality'

Nor was there any ambiguity in the responses from the association leaders. Osvaldo Verdugo, head of the Teachers Association, told HOY that the decision made by Gaete "is unilateral and, once again, disregards the majority sentiment among the nation's teachers."

On Tuesday, 27 May, Verdugo was detained (for 5 hours) at the exit of the Ministry of Education, when a group of leaders delivered a letter to the minister. In it, they expressed to him their repudiation of the municipal transfer, and reiterated that the process "suffers from deepseated technical errors attacking the unity and quality of the educational system and deteriorating the practice of the teaching profession."

According to the association's leaders, Gaete's announcement was a surprise, and "struck us like a bucket of cold water." Luis Cisternas, treasurer of the Teachers Association, reminded HOY that, in a meeting held with the minister in April, he had admitted that the municipalization would continue its progress, but said that, before making a final decision, he would contact the association's board of directors.

"The minister has not been candid with us," concluded Cisternas.

But the leader's astonishment was shortlived. On 28 and 29 May, nearly 16,000 public education teachers (there are 20,000 in the country) participated in a plebiscite called by the association. Option "A" backed the government's decision, because "it means greater participation for the teachers, an increase in the social benefits for teachers is obtained, and there is a substantial improvement in the quality of education."

Option "B" rejected the measure, because it implies "greater work instability, and a progressive loss of pay: in short, a deterioration in the dignity of the teaching profession and a decline in the quality of Chilean education."

According to the counts procured, as of the close of this edition, the "no" from the teachers was categorical.

A total of 15,860 teachers from all over the country voted. In favor of the municipal transfer were 178 (1.12 percent), and opposed, 15,587 (98.27 percent); and there were 40 blank votes and 55 null ones. In Santiago, 7,523 persons voted: favoring "yes" to municipalization, 138; for "no," 7,298; and there were 54 blank and 33 null votes.

Osvaldo Verdugo remarked that the plebiscite must become "a mechanism for permanent backing of our commitment to protect the interests of the teaching profession"; adding: "If the teachers are responsibly inclined toward a stoppage of activities, the association will abide by that decision."

Nevertheless, Gaete's goal of completing "one of the government's major modernizations" is not just another promise. Last week, the transfer to the municipalities of several schools in the communities of San Miguel and La Granja had already been made. As Luis Cisternas a teacher at a San Miguel high school, told HOY, the teachers were given a letter (in five copies) signed by the ministerial secretary, Pilar Gutierrez. The text declared that, based on Decree 264, the position was left vacant and the employee had to sign it in order to be considered notified.

Patricia Soto, a teacher at the A-8 Amunategui High School, said that, if anyone refused to sign, the director of the educational establishment, with a witness, could replace his signature. She added: "A moral pressure is being exerted. There are colleagues who have been given a period of 48 hours to sign, and have been warned that, if they fail to do so, their contracts will also be cancelled and they would not be hired in the municipality subsequently."

The goal of "decentralizing" education and "increasing the citizens' participation" is actually nothing new. The municipalization process began 6 years ago, after the issuance of Decree Law 3,063, which approved the new municipal income. Later, the Ministry of Education was authorized to turn over the administration of the technical-professional educational establishments to institutions of the public sector or to private corporations.

At first, the transfer was rapid and massive but (in early 1982) it was announced that the process would be halted for lack of funds. By then, 5,724 schools had already been transferred, representing nearly 85 percent of all the educational establishments in the public sector.

The board of directors of the Chilean Educators Professional Association (AGECH), in a public statement, gave a reminder that, in February, it had warned of the imminent threat of total privatization of education. The board reiterated its rejection for the recent announced measure, and accused Minister Gaete of assuming a "pig-headed position." It also noted that he "has turned a deaf ear to the outcry from the teachers, and refuses to see the disaster that the transfers represent for education."

According to the AGECH leaders, if Minister Gaete does not take the association's view into account only a strike is fitting as a last measure."

According to the official announcements, the ministry's plan now appears to have been devised. The deadline period is 3 months.

2909

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CHILE

PALMA DEFINES YOUTH ROLE IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY

Santiago HOY in Spanish No 463 2-8 Jun 86 pp 9-10

[Interview with Christian Democratic Youth head Andres Palma Irarrazabal, by Alejandro Guillier; date and location not specified]

[Text] "They claim that I am a threat to the state; it isn't true. I only want democracy for Chile and spaces for the youth's participation." This is the defense of the head of the Christian Democratic Youth organization, Andres Palma Irarrazabal (aged 30, married, a commercial engineer) against the sentence facing him of 541 days in jail, which has been remitted.

He asserts that the verdict was political. And although the justice system found him guilty of calling for a stoppage of activities, promoting disorders, and inciting to subversion, Andres Palma is not intimidated. He maintains: "It is the price that one has to be ready to pay when one is struggling for democracy."

He says that he devotes his time to his three children and to politics. And he has a great deal to think about. He claims that the styles of engaging in politics must be revamped. He told HOY: "The youth must be offered their own spaces for participation. We must also dream of the democratic Chile of the future, and that task has already begun."

And he discussed those political styles and his dreams for the country and its youth.

[Question] How do you view the Chilean youth of today?

[Answer] We youth and adults are half crazy and half sane. We must be half crazy to survive under this dictatorship, and we need to be half sane in order to resist and think of something better. How can one fail to be half crazy? Towns raided, universities with intervention, cities occupied militarily, kidnapping, exile and death are part of our everyday life. To order all that, one must be half crazy, and to put up with it, too.

[Question] Can the youth do anything to overcome that collective insanity?

[Answer] Many things, because the youth are the sanest ones in the country. They have hopes and alternate proposals. They have developed solidarity in

the school, the university and the town. They also express themselves in the theater and in music, with hopes that everything will change. And they are succeeding in this.

[Question] And what do the youth want?

[Answer] They demand their own space for developing: from a physical space in the home to the neighborhood, the school, or the job; a place where they can say what they think and do new things. And this is incompatible with a dictatorship that only knows how to impose its views. The youth want order and democracy. We are experiencing the negation of order, because the raids, the curfew, the mass arrests, the kidnappings, and the exile are chaos. Order, on the other hand, respects each person's space and allows the youth to express itself.

[Question] How can the youth proceed to win this space?

[Answer] The first task is to disobey and rebel; not to accept the impositions; then to create spaces in the home, the town, and the university. And when the youth participate in social and political organizations, they are capable of shouting publicly: "We want our space!", then they will attain the goal. This is why the CONFECH [Confederation of Chilean Students] congress was held; this is why groups are formed; this is why the youth meet with or without permission. Everything must be aimed at reaching agreement with other youth so as to work together for the democratization of Chile.

[Question] And what kind of society do the youth want?

[Answer] The youth do not want a country with a million television sets, or a car for every seven persons. They only want to dream of the elimination of poverty, injustice, and violence, and to fulfill these aspirations. Happiness does not lie in possessing, but in being a person.

[Question] Has the harsh experience of recent years inhibited the youth's desire to make social and political changes?

[Answer] No, the youth are still dreaming of the revolution with freedom. And I believe that we are closer to that goal now. The injustice and the need for change are so great that many more are in favor of major transformations. But there are priorities. The first task is to recover democracy, so as to have more space and to give an impetus to those major changes.

[Question] Why is it so hard for the youth to reach agreement?

[Answer] Because among us we have not completely understood what is going on in Chile or what we ourselves desire. But there has been progress, such as the youth agreement board, which 11 political youth organizations have achieved.

[Question] There has been criticism because youth with such different ideas are making agreements. Are they trying to deal with a single situation united, or is it possible to expect real, long-term commitments of all the political youth?

[Answer] This is a process. First, we have realized that we face the same problems and limitations. We had no space in the university, in the school, and on the job. We all wanted freedom. Then, we understood that, without democracy, there would not be that space of our own. And, in countless private dialogues, we discovered that we interpreted democracy in a very similar manner: as an increasing process of participation and of opening spaces for creating. I think that we all perceive the future democracy in a similar way. The differences that still exist relate to the methods for achieving it.

[Question] How do the youth view the present generation of politicians? Is a renewal necessary?

[Answer] Many blame the political leaders for the obstacles to opposition unity, without realizing that most of the time the difficulties exist in the social bases per se. The same prejudices that existed in 1973 persist among many. Furthermore, the majority of party heads were not such in 1973. However, I consider it necessary to revamp the styles of engaging in politics. The leaders must go to the towns, to the rural areas, to the mines in the north, and hold dialogue with the people. Then, they should introduce a prophetic style of engaging in politics: denouncing the injustices without regard for the price, and offering alternatives; talking about the new time that is coming.

[Question] Do you think that Chile needs a leader?

[Answer] I wonder: is there anyone capable of offering the unity that the country requires? Or will it be unity that will produce the leader? History has shown examples of both. Meanwhile, the essential thing is to work for unity.

[Question] And how do you view the Armed Forces in this 13-year history?

[Answer] As increasingly more fearful and isolated. They see terrorists everywhere. To them, a youth, a worker, or a woman walking along the street is a potential terrorist. And they continue to impose their aggression on us. They are divorced from the civilian society.

[Question] What should be done with them?

[Answer] Integrate them into civilian society. They have their own schools, polytechnical institutes, hospitals, justice system, and even towns. The officers enter an armed institution as adolescents without knowledge of the life, and assume a commitment forever. And, since they live apart from the civilians, they end up believing that, because the latter are different, they are a threat.

[Question] How can the call to unity be made to them if they seem deaf to the civilian proposals?

[Answer] They may be isolated, but they are not stupid. If they rebelled against their commander in chief in 1973, it was because someone made a

proposal to them. That proved that they think and deliberate. They may hold dialogue with civilians when they realize that the polarization could destroy not only the country, but themselves as well. To do this, they must be shown with a social mobilization that General Pinochet's regime is exhausted and is a threat to everyone.

[Question] When the present situation has been surmounted, what do the democratic political youth organizations offer to the youth?

[Answer] We offer them a place in the task of creating space for participation. True happiness lies in sharing what there is with others. That is why we tell the youth: Unite with us in the task of building a society of participation. And we stress to them that this task began yesterday.

[Question] The "Demand of Chile" prepared by the Civil Assembly included some aspirations of the youth. Are you satisfied?

[Answer] The demand for "democracy now" is one of all Chileans. And we feel that we have been spoken for in this general aspiration that inspires the document. But we know that it is not sufficient. It will be the task of the democratic society that replaces the authoritarian regime to create all these spaces that the youth desire. That task will be permanent, because democracy is improvable. Nevertheless, I stress: It is possible and necessary to start building that democracy right now.

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10 July 1986

CHILE

WEEKLY REVIEWS MILITARY PURCHASES, SUPPLIERS

Santiago ANALISIS in Spanish 27 May-2 Jun 86 pp 21-24

[Article by Pamela Jiles: "Who Is Selling the Weapons Aimed at Chileans?"]

[Text] While the Chilean Army, Navy, and Air Force high commands were meeting in Lima with their Peruvian counterparts to study methods for cutting defense spending, in Chile we learned about arms purchases involving millions made from Brazil and Spain, which would increase the already doubled supply of weapons in our country. Combined Army, National Guard, and CNI [National Intelligence Center] personnel "discovered" an enormous "extremist" arsenal, noteworthy in which were many American machine guns such as the Army of the power to the north uses; and an Argentine congressman charged that there was a secret defense pact between Chile, Paraguay, and South Africa. Previously, Gen Santiago Sinclair (in an unprecedented move) had declined an invitation tendered by the Pentagon, in his capacity as vice commander in chief of the Chilean Army.

In one way or another, all these events are related to the militarization of the national scene and the Pinochet regime's arms policy.

No concrete results were learned concerning the meeting of the high commands in Lima, from the standpoint of arms limitation. Rather, it appeared to be a meeting inspired by Chile's efforts for rapprochement with Peru to reduce its international isolation. Moreover, the Chilean ambassador, Alfredo Canales, described the debates of the United Nations Disarmament Commission as "endless and repetitious" at that very same time.

The Chilean Foreign Ministry vociferously denied the millions worth of weapons purchases from Brazil and Spain, claiming that this was an "imaginary, false report with no reliability." Nevertheless, the general director of weapons and ordnance of the Spanish Defense Ministry, Gen Andres Jimenez, admitted the sale, remarking that it was due "to long-standing commitments." A high-ranking official in the Spanish administration argued: "If we don't sell certain military equipment to countries like Chile, there will be some other country that will do so." The Spanish press maintained that this country sold Chile military trucks, tank trucks with hoses to break up demonstrations, smoke bombs, ammunition, and short-barreled weapons last year; as well as the license and components for assembling 21 C-101 airplanes, priced at \$100 million, which can be

used as training equipment or for ground attack to hit any target. These "Halcon" planes, as the C-101's are called in Chile, have been designed for counterinsurgent combat.

In Brazil, the Sao Paulo newspaper FOLHA noted negotiations between the Chilean Government and that country's weapons industry, involving billions of dollars. The contract (to be closed in 1986) reportedly includes heavy tanks, multiple missile launchers, and both training aircraft and aircraft for antiguerrilla operations. All these weapons are useful for internal repression. According to the Brazilian newspaper, General Pinochet is personally interested in completing this purchase. But a group of Brazilian congressmen has already announced its intention of hampering the sale of arms to Pinochet (ANALISIS No 143).

General Sinclair's refusal to travel to the United States should be interpreted in the context of the deteriorated military relations between Chile and the United States, despite Ronald Reagan's efforts to restore these ties curtailed by the U.S. Congress.

Uncle Sam's Monopoly

Up until 1973, the United States had been the Chilean weapons shopping center. After World War II, a Pan-American military system had been set up wherein the American channels of influence over the armed forces of all of Latin America were created. The United States was seeking to establish a hemispheric security system which would guarantee the security of "its" continent, from the standpoint of its own interests. The Latin American countries were an easy prey for those intentions, and quickly offered their backing (almost without exception), in return for which weapons would be sent to them. This produced the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty (TIAR), signed in Rio de Janeiro during 1947, which lent the "region's security" an international legal context; and, later, the Charter of the Organization of American States, in 1948, which put the finishing touch on American influence over Latin American military decisions.

The figures on American military aid to Chile during the period 1950-78 are some of the largest, in comparison with those for the other nations of the region. The researcher from the Latin American School of Social Sciences (FLACSO), Carlos Portales, comments: "During that period, Chile received over \$313 million, representing 12.8 percent of the total military aid programs for Latin America. Chile ranked second among the continent's recipient countries, exceeded only by Brazil. During the same period, 6,883 Chilean military men were trained under United States auspices, and only Brazil, Peru, and Colombia had more military students."

The Military Assistance Program (PAM) and, later, the Program for Military Sales Abroad were the two mechanisms for arms supplying that the United States used to spread its military influence in Latin America. During a first phase, weapons were sent for external defense, and, subsequently, arms,

training, and antisubversive equipment were provided: The "communist threat" was the regional enemy that the Americans were attempting to contain.

In the publication "Defense and Disarmament," the researcher Cristian Gazmuri remarks: "When the coup d'etat of 1973 occurred, the Chilean Armed Forces were, based on Latin American averages, large in numbers of men but weak in equipment and weapons. Most of the latter were old or obsolete and the 'weapons systems,' when they existed, were rudimentary. This was so mainly because of the lack of a budget and the poor distribution of the existing one. The fact is that the Chilean Armed Forces were comprised of about 60,000 well disciplined and poorly armed men, without considering the National Guard Corps, which was then attached to the Interior Ministry and had about 28,000 men equipped with light weapons."

After the Cou

This perfect game, wherein the United States was selling its cast-off weapons to Latin America, determined balances, assigned equipment, and maintained a "regional equilibrium," through the non-introduction of sophisticated or modern weapons for the defense of the area's nations, declined at the end of the 1960's. The arms sellers had proliferated in the world, and international relations were embarking on a phase of easing of political tensions. Carlos Portales explains: "The proliferation of countries producing conventional weapons (after the economic recovery of Western Europe) has been translated into an increase in suppliers to an international market wherein the political restrictions of the bipolar world on arms trading are beginning to yield."

Thus, the United States monopoly on arms sales to Latin America has been broken and the Latin Americans have opened themselves to the international market even the Soviet one. In this context, there occurred the coup in Chile, one of the results of which, for the subject of concern to us, was that the armed institutions' equipment requirements have had direct repercussions on the appropriation of state funds, owing to the equivalence of the military command with the political one.

Latin America's military relations with Western Europe began to be reflected in arms trading and the production of weapons "under a license." The leading European suppliers are France, Italy, and Great Britain, and, recently, Spain has been added. They have displaced the United States. In addition, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Peru have implemented plans for producing weapons with European licenses.

In the case of Chile, although the military relationship between Chile and the United States has never been completely broken, the diversification of its arms suppliers followed the trend in Latin America, and subsequently even became more marked owing to the restrictions imposed by the U.S. Congress and reinforced by the Carter administration.

During Pinochet's first years, the Americans sent arms to Chile (F 5-E airplanes), but in December 1974, Senator Edward Kennedy succeeded in setting a

limit of \$25 million on arms sales to the military regime; although this restriction did not apply to cash sales. In July 1976, Congress passed another Kennedy amendment cutting off all military aid to Chile and limited economic assistance.

The military links decreased even more in November 1979, because of Pinochet's refusal to extradite the Chilean officials accused of assassinating Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffit in Washington. The number of military advisers was reduced, a limit was set on the delivery of spare parts and ammunition, and the Chilean Navy was isolated from Operation Unitas.

Ronald Reagan has tried, using various means, to reestablish the military ties with Pinochet: He resumed Chile's participation in Unitas, and achieved the repeal of the Kennedy amendment if progress could be proven in the country's human rights situation. After nearly 5 years, that proof has proven impossible, as is obvious.

Carlos Portales describes thusly the status of diversification in the channels for arms supplies to Chile: "The recent study by the United States Disarmament and Arms Control Agency indicates that, during the period 1978-82, Chile imported \$1.1 billion worth of weapons, its suppliers being France (45.4 percent), the United Kingdom (3.6 percent), the Federal Republic of Germany (2.7 percent), the United States (1.8 percent), and others (41.8 percent); attesting to the trend toward a decline in U.S. imports and France's rise as a source of supply."

This status of diversification becomes quite clear when a comparison is made between the value of arms imports made by Chile and the suppliers' share before and after this diversification occurred (see Table on page 22).

Who Is Selling Arms to Pinochet

During the last decade, the Chilean Armed Forces increased their personnel over twofold. The number of generals in the Army was also doubled. In addition, the national arms supply was at least doubled with respect to the previous period in the country's history.

In the case of the Air Force, since the 1960's it was traditional for Chile to purchase its aircraft from England (Hawker Hunter), and the rest of the equipment from the United States. Under the military regime, there were problems with the Hawker Hunter maintenance unions, which refused to carry out the maintenance on these planes. Chile sought other suppliers. It bought F 5 aircraft from the United States, and later Mirages from France. Then, high performance Casa airplanes and Hercules heavy carrier planes of American origin were imported. Training and naval patrol aircraft were purchased in Brazil. An agreement was reached with Spain for the Halcon to be assembled in Chile. The Pillan aircraft is being built in Chile through an agreement for transfer of American technology.

The Navy has traditionally had a British supply. That policy has continued under the military regime, with the purchase of submarines, frigates, and warships, among other equipment. A cruiser was purchased from Sweden (which arrived in Chile during 1972). Through a construction contract with France, light landing vessels (Batral) were assembled in Chile. Noteworthy is the close relationship that the Chilean Navy has maintained with Great Britain, facilitated during the past 7 years by the affinity with Margaret Thatcher's conservative government.

The Army has purchased heavy tanks in France, and both Sherman tanks (over 150 units which have over 40 years of use and were overhauled in Israel) and infantry weapons from Israel. The Army has also maintained a certain supply of American infantry weapons, and has purchased Belgian and Swedish equipment, in addition to the Cardoen amphibian carriers assembled in Chile with a Swedish license and some equipment purchased from Brazil.

Nevertheless, the mere accumulation of military equipment does not automatically have a positive effect on the country's defense capacity. Cristian Gazmuri notes: "The escalation in weapons, at first glance, appears spectacular. The comparison in defensive firing capacity between 1973 and 1982 could be one to two. However, despite the volume of arms purchased or manufactured, most of them are obsolete, if not overtly antiquated, even in the case of new weapons purchases such as the Mirages. In other instances, the arms bought are really decrepit, and one cannot understand, at least based on strictly military reasoning, why they were purchased. In the case of the MBT M-4 tanks bought from Israel which, with more or less modernization, have had 40 years of use, they are not qualified to be measured against any of their possible rivals." The specialist thinks that, generally, "technology for the Third World" has been purchased, which is rather ineffective in the event of a foreign war. He concludes that, "the purchaser or purchasers of some of these weapons may not have been thinking of a foreign war," which would explain the concentration of this equipment in the metropolitan area, "where its use to defend our sovereignty is nil, but it could quickly participate in other kinds of defense."

Researcher Augusto Varas deems it useful to make an analysis, branch by branch of the military: "The Army has basically purchased equipment for anti-insurgent use, apart from a few relatively modern units that could be used in a conventional theater of operations. They have a few tanks and defense missiles, but the rest consists of personnel transport vehicles, armored vehicles, reconnaissance cars and transport planes; actually, armament used for the occupation of territory per se rather than for a confrontation or an increase in the deterrent capacity of the land forces."

According to Varas, in the case of the Navy, "The surface fleet has been developed: destroyers and frigates; but the submarine fleet has been greatly neglected. And that is a discussion that is under way now within the Navy. It would seem that a country with such an extensive coast as the one we have in Chile needs more than two submarines to protect it." According to the researcher, these problems in the Navy's supply policies are due to that branch's difficulties in replacing its high command and modernizing the concepts of naval strategy.

Varas remarks: "The Air Force has had a more suitable policy." But he gives a reminder that the purchase of a group of Hawker Hunters in 1974 and of the F-5 E's in 1975 had been decided upon during the Popular Unity period. He adds: "Thereafter, the most significant purchase was the 16 Mirages which arrived between 1979 and 1980, and that of 12 British aircraft. The other purchases have also been along the line of raising the country's deterrent capacity."

Great Britain has sold small tanks and armored tanks for antiriot repression to the National Guard Corps. The Federal Republic of Germany and Japan have also sent personnel transport vehicles and anti-demonstration weapons (such as poison gas) come from the United States and Argentina (before Alfonsín).

Varas comments: "Although the weapons supply has doubled, the country's defense policy from 1973 onward has placed very little emphasis on weapons systems to increase the capacity to deter the enemy abroad; and it has been directed toward purchases of equipment and the expansion of personnel with a policy that is more police than military-oriented, militarizing the internal system rather than dissuading potential outside enemies."

This spectacular progress in the Chilean Armed Forces' weapons supply must also be weighed with the high cost that it has for the country's economy. The military sector's spending is unproductive, and these funds have been diverted from the development of various areas, such as education, health, or housing for Chileans. And from a political standpoint, it represents a militarization of the society and an intensification of the Armed Forces' role of interfering in domestic policy.

The 'Reasons' for the Bloody Trade

The countries selling arms to Pinochet are democratic; some are socialist; and most of them have a tradition of repudiating the Chilean dictatorship. Augusto Varas observes: "In the case of France and Spain, the state has very great decision-making power with regard to companies producing and exporting weapons. I would say that the United States has had a far more consistent policy from 1976 until the present (which Reagan has been unable to reverse) of not selling arms to Chile."

Many European arms suppliers use the argument of "the reason of state," and, although they condemn the Pinochet regime politically, they sell it weapons based on what they consider a strategic imperative: to develop their weapons industry and to amortize costs for their self-sufficiency, as in the case of France and Spain.

Great Britain is concerned about maintaining its geopolitical interests in this part of the world, and they view in Chile a potential ally in the conflict with Argentina. In Brazil, the entire military manufactures program is being revised, but there persists the inertia from the commitments assumed before the advent of democracy. According to the experts, Israel sells

weapons to Pinochet because it holds the theory of "pariah states," whereby bonds should be intensified with countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Paraguay, and Chile which, with itself, would be the ones repudiated by the international community.

Thus, there occurs the paradox that it is democratic countries and, in some instances socialist nations, which have sent arms to the military regime for the internal repression that it is continuing. And they have not only sold Pinochet counter-insurgent weapons, useful to neutralize armed groups, but also various equipment for the so-called "anti-riot repression," in other words, to attack the unarmed civilian population in peaceful demonstrations.

Chilean Weapons Imports According to Supplier Country: 1964-73 and 1976-80
(in millions of current dollars)

Supplier country	1964-73		1976-80	
	Value	Percentage	Value	Percentage
U.S.	89	56.7	110	17.6
France	9	5.7	170	27.2
United Kingdom	21	13.4	50	8.0
Canada	1	0.6	-	-
FRG	1	0.6	30	4.8
Sweden	-	-	5	0.8
Others *	36	22.9	260	41.6
Total:	157	100.0	600 **	100.0

* During the first period it includes primarily Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland; during the second, Brazil, Spain, Israel, and others.

** The lesser value of the total for the addends appears in the source, and is due to the fact that these are rough approximations made independently.

Source: World Military Expenditures and Arms Trade: 1963-73, US ACDA
World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers: 1971-80, US ACDA
SIPRI Yearbooks

Chile's Leading Arms Purchases Between 1973 and 1983 (year of arrival given)

Year	Army	Navy	Air Force
1974	10 SA 330 PUMA (19)	2 Allen M. Summer destroyers (20) 1 modified Leander type frigate	6 FG 9 Hawker Hunter aircraft 8 T-37 training aircraft

Year	Army	Navy	Air Force
1975	Mamba type antitank missiles, no info on number 105 mm artillery, no info on number (21)	1 modified Leander type frigate 1 Oberon type submarine	10 Neiva N 621 Universal 1 airplane (training plane) 6 SA-315 (Lama or Gazelle) Aerospace helicopters 18 F 5 E supersonic fighter planes (continued receipt the next year) (22) 34 Cessna A-37 B airplanes (light attack planes) (continued receipt the next and possibly the following year Raytheon AA Sidewinder AIM-9J missiles
1976	3 EMB 110 Bandeirante (light transport)	1 Oberon type submarine	Hughes AGM-65A Maverick ASM? no info on number Raytheon AA Sidewinder AIM-9J missiles, no info on number
1977	7 155 mm MK F3 self-propelled guns of French origin (24) 20 mm AA artillery, no info on number 47 AMX 13 light tanks of French origin (25)	6 EMB-111 Bandeirante (patrol planes) 21 Neiva T.25 Universal Mk 2 (training plane)	150 A 11 ASM 150 A 12 ASM 3 Douglas C-95 (transport plane) 2 C-130 H Hercules (this purchase is not certain) 2 Merlin 3-A light transport planes
1978	30 EE 9 Cascavel APC (armored reconnaissance cars) and transport 6 CASA-AVIOCAR transport planes (general and paratrooper) (some arrived in 1979) Spanish origin	1 Fokker VFM patrol and transport	6 or more Havilland DH C-6 Twin Otter planes (transport) (26) 2 Merlin 3-A Over 100 Shafrir AAM
1979	No info	1 Reshef type missile launcher boat (ShSh M Gabriel) (27)	16 Mirage 50 fighter planes (some arrived the next year) (28)

Year	Army	Navy	Air Force
1980	No info	No info	No info
1981	21 AMX 30 MBT (29) tanks CARDOEN-MOWAG APC Piranha type with 4 and 6 wheels, no info on number (possibly 20) 50 APC "URUTU" EE-11 3 SA-330L PUMA helicopters 150-200 Sherman M-4 tanks overhauled (105 mm gun) (31)	1 Reshef boat with ShSh M No info	1 Boeing 727 (jet transport for passengers and freight) 12 CASA-C-101 jet planes (30) No info
1982	MILAN antitank missiles, no info on number APC CARDOEN, no info on number CROTALE R440 SAM (33) (at least 6 batteries with 4 missiles each, possibly 12)	1 County type destroyer (32)	12 Hawker Hunter FCA 9 The first Pillan T-35 to complete a total of 100, most to be assembled in Chile (34) CASA C-101, no info (35) 3 Canberra PR-57 reconnaissance planes
1983	No info	1 oil tanker	Pillan T-35, no info on number CASA C-101, no info on number 1 Buffalo DH STOL medium transport

Source: "Defense and Disarmament - Latin America and the Caribbean," Vol 1, No 1, September-December 1985, a publication of the Defense and Disarmament Center, Santiago, Chile

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CHILE

WEEKLY REPORTS ON SHIPMENT OF UNRELIABLE CLUSTER BOMBS

Santiago CAUCE in Spanish 2-8 Jun 86 pp 41-42

[Article by Osvaldo Muray: "The Bank of Chile and 'Jenka' Victims of Wasp Bombs"]

[Text] It cannot be denied that the "Wasp" bombs (a copy of the cluster bombs) manufactured by Ferrimar are causing many casualties, although not among the Iraqi troops at which they are aimed, but rather among the manufacturers, and those who have had dealings with them, including two high-ranking Bank of Chile officials.

The mysterious disappearance of the Danish freighter "Jenka" is only another chapter in a by now long history of mishaps that Ferrimar has suffered since its executives had the bad idea of changing their line. Ferrimar is an old company in the metal working sector, which built items ranging from fishing boats to the gates of the enormous Colbun-Machicura dam.

However, dazzled by the enchanting shady business involving millions in which the world arms market is engaged, it acquired the plans for the cluster bomb made by Cardoen and two very influential associates: the director of FAMAE [Army Ordnance] and Gen (ret) Manuel Contreras Sepulveda.

Nevertheless, neither the plans (which Cardoen claims were stolen from it by a trusted associate) nor the partners have succeeded in making the "Wasps" work, and both their potential purchaser (Iran) and their carrier have lost patience. The result of this situation has been the mysterious disappearance of the "Jenka" after its small crew had remained 120 days in Valparaiso, waiting for a shipment of "Wasps" that never arrived.

The Missing Plans

About a year ago, the Cardoen engineers had to review the plans for the cluster bomb that they make for the Iraqi Government and, to their surprise, they found them missing. After a brief investigation, the company concluded that the perpetrator of the plans' disappearance had been the international marketing manager, Daniel Prieto Vial, who emigrated to Ferrimar.

Shortly thereafter, Ferrimar began making a bomb oddly similar to that of Cardoen and, as was to have been expected (a source told CAUCE), that bomb was offered to the government of Iran, which is fighting a long, bloody war with Iraq.

When the firm was equipped to manufacture the bomb, a Spanish citizen arrived in Chile (in early January of this year), claiming to be an international arms dealer interested in purchasing a large shipment of "Wasps."

Apart from his intentions, the Spaniard was carrying a letter of credit for the sum of \$12 million in Ferrimar's favor. Officials from the company went with that letter of credit (a commitment for purchase backed by a deposit in the aforementioned amount) to the Bank of Chile. The bank agreed to grant overdrafts to Ferrimar based on the letter of credit.

But, as an astrologist has said, the matter had a bad aspect and the astral influences were negative for Ferrimar; hence, the deal started out on the wrong foot.

Bombs in Pudahuel

The first "Wasps" left for Pudahuel at the end of March, on a British charter plane which carried 120 bombs, weighing 28 tons. The shipment had been consigned to Lagos, Nigeria. A source told CAUCE that the "Wasps" were later shipped to Pakistan, and from there to Iran, in what is called a triangular operation. A second shipment was made on 8 April using the same route and the same airplane.

However, three other shipments (there were five in all) were never made.

The source said that, apparently, the first bombs taken to Iran by air did not work, and hence the client complained, and the operation was stopped.

CAUCE was told that bombs are not rocks that are thrown from above. They must be launched from an airplane which "drops them," and the bomb begins to fly by itself until it reaches the target, where it explodes in the air releasing hundreds of small bombs (which also fly), and the latter spread death over an enormous radius of action.

It would appear that the Ferrimar "Wasps" refused to fly and fell like rocks. That prevents the submunition from exploding. It is like bombing a target with rocks.

The 'Jenka'

Before the first bombs were shipped by plane, Ferrimar had contracted the services of the Danish firm, H. C. Grube, domiciled at 5960 Prinsensgade, 6-box-25, Marstal, Denmark, which sent to Chile its freighter, "Jenka," under the command of Capt Lars Toegersen and a small five-man crew. The "Jenka" is a

ship built according to the United Nations' strict specifications for this type of vessel used to carry explosives. It has a length of 50 meters, and a capacity for nearly 900 tons of cargo. The "Jenka" was due to leave Chile with 450 tons of "Wasp" bombs.

For a ship to be able to set sail in search of its contracted cargo, the contractor (Ferrimar) would have to pay the shipowner (H. C. Grube) 40 percent of the estimated transportation cost. In the case of the "Jenka," this would have to be reckoned as \$4,000 per day of sailing. The same amount has to be paid for every day that the ship is idle in port.

The "Jenka" arrived in Valparaíso in early February and, since the bombs were not ready, it had to remain idle, waiting for the cargo. However, the clients in Iran started becoming nervous, and hence Ferrimar sent the two air shipments on the British charter plane. The source claimed that the bombs had never been tested from an airplane in Chile.

The Bank of Chile

To finance all this movement and the maintenance costs of the "Jenka," stranded in Valparaíso, and consuming \$4,000 per day (not counting permits, taxes, meals for the crew, water, fuel, etc.), Ferrimar took the credit procured at the Bank of Chile and paid its bills with checks charged to the aforementioned bank.

But the fateful astral influences complicated things. When the Ferrimar checks arrived for collection, the bank noted that Ferrimar was drawing from the account of a letter of credit which was only a promise of payment, when the contract was fulfilled. Since the bombs were not yet ready, the letter of credit was a dead letter. The Bank of Chile refused to pay for the checks, and the latter were protested.

The sum amounted to hundreds of millions of pesos.

Bombs To Iran?

The mishaps caused by the "Wasps" that refuse to fly had not ended, however. Since it had been stated publicly (CAUCE No 70) that the bombs were for Iran, the Chilean Government began receiving some insinuations and questions from foreign governments, including the United States (a source assured CAUCE). As is public knowledge, the Reagan government has no sympathy for the regime of the Ayatollah Khomeini, who kept the world in a state of tension with the kidnapping of many American citizens and diplomats.

Hence (apparently), the government informed Ferrimar of how unfeasible it was to sell bombs to the Iranians, ideological enemies of the Chilean Government, and also somewhat more than ideological enemies of the U.S. Government. And, since the relations with the latter are not at their best point, the "Wasp" bombs, at best, will never take off from their Chilean hive.

Other 'Victims'

The list of "victims" of these bombs continues to lengthen. The shipping agency, A. J. Broom, of Valparaiso, was responsible for the care of the "Jenka" during its stay in port. For this reason, A. J. Broom contracted for the ship's supplies during its 4 months of forced landfall.

The escape of the "Jenka," between 21 and 22 May, caused A. J. Broom to incur a penalty of 10,000 gold pesos, equivalent to 4.677 million pesos, imposed by the maritime authority. When this is added to the \$30,000 for food and fuel, the "Wasp" bombs are causing many casualties, without ever having been used. The escape of the "Jenka" is explained as a logical consequence of the expiration of the 40 percent guarantee.

The last victim of the bombs (CAUCE was told) is Daniel Prieto Vial himself, who, using the pseudonym of Alejandro Valdes, wrote an article lauding the "Wasps" in the INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEW, published in Switzerland. The author went overboard with his praise but the Iranians denied it, and the magazine removed its correspondent in Chile.

Iraqi Complaint

When CAUCE is in circulation, the vice prime minister of Iraq, Taha Yassin Ramadhan, is due to be in Chile; he traveled from his country to Brazil to close a multimillion contract for Brazilian weapons.

The Iraqi official (CAUCE was informed) will travel from Brasilia to Santiago to meet with Chilean Government officials, to whom he will express his country's uneasiness over the sale of bombs to Iran.

Iraq has diplomatic relations with Chile, but this does not hold true of Iran, a country which, because it is in the orbit of nations allied with the Soviet Union, lacks the sympathy of the military regime.

2909

CSO: 3348/638

CUBA

WORKERS AT NUCLEAR PLANT PLEDGE INCREASE IN PRODUCTIVITY

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 25 Apr 86 p 3

[Excerpt] Cienfuegos--Julio Trujillo Agüero, director of ECOI 6, which the Nuclear Power Plant (CEN) is building here, delivered the commitments of the party members working on this project to Humberto Miguel Fernández, first secretary of the party in this province. The workers are making these commitments in response to the exhortations of Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Both Trujillo and Miguel are members of the Party Central Committee.

The document was read during a ceremony attended by Angel Moreno Bofil and Pedro Ross Leal, both members of the Central Committee, and by the members of the party and the Union of Young Communists (UJC) who are in the Construction Enterprises and those investing in the project.

This commitment states that its goals are to raise production, productivity, and efficiency in each task, to increase labor discipline and the conservation of resources, and to optimize all activities, in addition to moving a month ahead in fulfilling the technical-economic plan.

Moreover, on the same date, the workers expect to fulfill the goal for the principal economic efficiency indicators, and to meet the 76-million-peso target of the ECOI 6 1986 Plan.

Another important objective of the party members in the CEN is not to use more than the 12,000 workers called for in the plan in carrying out this project.

Pedro Ross gave a speech in which he stated that the CEN should become a model project to be emulated by all others in the country, and indicated that this will consolidate and enhance the prestige of Cuban construction workers.

Each reactor, he said, represents a savings of some 600,000 tons of petroleum, which is what the country hopes to produce in 1 year.

Humberto Miguel spoke at the end of the event, summing up all the difficulties and deficiencies that the CEN faces. He expressed his confidence in all the workers on this historic project.

8926

CSO: 3248/458

CUBA

STORES EQUIPPED WITH PRECISION SCALES TO BUY COINS, JEWELRY

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 25 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Fernando Davalos]

[Text] Specialized jewelry equipment has been purchased by the National Bank of Cuba (BNC) to supply to stores that will be opened throughout the provinces, and to those already open. The purpose of the instruments is to ensure the accuracy of purchases from the public involving precious metals and stones, silver objects, and gold and silver coins from Cuba as well as other countries.

The National Minting Enterprise of the BNC reported that the stores in Havana (Joyeria Quevedo, at Obispo and Compostela), Las Tunas (La Joya, at 332 Francisco Varona), Holguin (La Esmeralda, 144 Libertad), Camaguey (La Perla, 463 Republica), Santiago de Cuba (La Esmeralda, 306 Aguilera), Sancti Spiritus (El Digital, 26 Independencia), and Villa Clara (El Zafiro, 12 Bonifacio Martinez in Santa Clara), are already operating.

Digital scales, special silversmith's tweezers, vials of water for assaying, touchstones, gold-pointed stars for testing, magnifying glasses, calibrators, hard graphite, filters for emeralds, and saws have been imported for these establishments.

Expert jewelers will operate these precision instruments, which will be used to determine the precise precious metal content of the object in question for payment purposes. In addition, payment will be given for the jewelry work, which is an intrinsic part of these items.

At a press conference Guillermo Triana, director of that enterprise, explained that the other stores in the country are working on the final details before opening.

The prices of gold vary according to the number of carats, from 10.55 pesos per gram for 22 carats, to 4.80 pesos for 10 carat gold. Platinum will sell for 11.90 pesos per gram, and silver for 0.18 pesos per gram.

Cuban silver coins will be purchased for 5 times their face value. Thus, for example, a 10-centavo "realito" will sell for 50 centavos. Silver coins from the United States will also be paid for at a ratio of 5 to 1.

These prices, which are related to the levels of the international market, are aimed at stimulating sales by the public in the interest of recovering these metals for the benefit of the national economy.

The BNC intends to recover no less than 15 tons of silver from the extractive processes carried out by the Cuban Minting Enterprise on photosensitive materials, as well as purchases from the public in these specialized stores, from the Costume Jewelry and Lamp Enterprise of the Ministry of Light Industry (MINIL), and from purchases from the public through the national banking network.

8926

CSO: 3248/458

CUBA

ALLEGED BOOK BY BOFILL TRACED BY WRITER

Havana EL CAIMAN BARBUDO in Spanish May 86 pp 2-5

[Article by Jose Lorenzo Fuentes; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Some have called "the plagiarism of the century." Others point to it as another attempt by elements hostile to the revolution to create "prestigious" literary figures who, the enemy says, are jailed and persecuted in our country just because they dissent politically and ideologically. One of the most hackneyed diversionist ploys. The fact is that from the instant that Jose Lorenzo Fuentes, the well-known Cuban narrator, made his denunciation public, there has been an ongoing campaign of slander to create a smoke screen between the public and the truth. The ultimate purpose of this, as if it were achievable, is to cover up a costly error that bespeaks both an unscrupulous manipulation of the people's cultural values and a complete lack of professionalism on the part of the intelligence services that are aiding the counterrevolution wherever it sets up shop. The shrillest voice in the campaign is that of Carlos Alberto Montaner, a Cuban-born ex-terrorist who has close ties to the Spanish publishing house Playor, the same one that helped to consummate the plagiarism and whose anthology of "contemporary Cuban writers" provides sufficient evidence that when the CIA does not have literate lackeys available, it invents them. Jose Lorenzo Fuentes furnished our editors with proof of the authorship of the work. The international court that will judge the facts cannot but bow to the evidence. The Publishers

One ordinary day in 1968, which turned out to be quite different for me, as I was looking at a photograph of Commander Ernesto Guevara, I soon began thinking about a subject that can be expressed in one word, a word that sounds too solemn but that I find to be the only appropriate one: immortality. I kept thinking about the possibility that a man, thanks to his self-sacrifice, the wealth of examples he provides or the weight of his ideas, could transcend time and live on among us, with all of his strength and greatness, even after he died. "Che" was one of those men, and I had had the enormous privilege of meeting him during the battle of Santa Clara, the last great battle against the Batista dictatorship, and of conversing with him later on many occasions under the gleam of his magnificent eyes. And as often happens to those who are slaves to the vice of literary creation, I drifted unconsciously into the realm of fantasy. Allowing oneself to be photographed, I said to myself, is another way of attaining immortality. There were "Che's" eyes on the

photographic paper, once again proving me right. And with another leap of the imagination I saw Tranquilino, the main character in a new novel of mine, an obscure artisan in a small, forgotten town, whose entire life is slow frustration, and who in old age realizes that he has exhausted all of the possibilities of his craft and discovers, to his dismay, that it will no longer be possible for him to construct a work capable of enshrining his name and his talent.

As the reader will have already imagined, Tranquilino of course has himself photographed as soon as a photographer arrives in the tiny town. Obsessed with this idea, I began to write my novel "The Paper Eyes," which I left aside on several occasions for months and years and which I finally finished on 15 September 1974. It is a short novel of some 100 pages, enough to say breathlessly what I wanted. The clipped together sheaf of papers was placed in a drawer no sooner had the keys of my typewriter fallen silent, so that it could age like wine in wax-sealed casks, so that I could forget even its plot and read it later with a pitilessly critical eye.

It did not age as long in the drawer as I had hoped. Some months later, going back on my initial decision, I made two copies of the novel. Ricardo Bofill Pages was visiting my home quite often at the time. Although he was not a writer or an expert on the subject, we talked about literary matters. He often expressed an interest in some of the things that I had been writing at the time, and finally one day in 1975 I lent him the carbon copy of "The Paper Eyes," keeping the original for submission to a Cuban publisher. Five months later, an embarrassed Bofill told me that the copy had gotten lost. Since I have always thought that the sole purpose of words is and must be to uphold the truth, I believed that he was not deceiving me and that it was impossible, because it was unimaginable, that he would use the text for unscrupulous purposes.

The incident was buried in oblivion, and I eventually decided to try my luck with the original of "The Paper Eyes." I submitted it to Letras Cubanas publishing, which turned it down because "it sounds like it was written by Garcia Marquez." The decision did not sit well with me, and to console myself I spent days thinking about how Mario Vargas Llosa's "The City and the Dogs," among other novels, had initially been rejected. To further console myself I even remembered Victor Hugo, who proclaimed when Stendhal died: "This fellow never knew what writing was." But to calm myself with these distinguished examples was really the consolation of fools. The important thing was to publish the book and to let the readers have the final word. I then began to entertain the idea of adding new characters into the novel and of submitting it again under a different title.

But the fickle finger of fate managed to weave its spell around what would become over time my most controversial novel. In 1979 I ran into Gabriel Garcia Marquez at the Riviera Hotel in Havana; we have been friends for almost 30 years. I told him about how my novel had been rejected, and Garcia Marquez started laughing.

"If it sounds like I had written it," he said jokingly, "it must be very well written. Give it to me so that I can publish it in my name."

I handed him the original, which he promised to read in his home in Mexico, and we continued our conversation in apparently different veins. Nevertheless, when we recalled that we had both been born in March of the same year, under the same sign of the zodiac, Garcia Marquez again told me smilingly in an obvious allusion to my book:

"I've been luckier than you because I switched to Taurus. Aries is the sign of loneliness."

Without time to ask him how he had accomplished this astrological feat, I bid Garcia Marquez farewell, also without suspecting at the time that he was becoming a witness to the scandalous plagiarism of my novel.

The Novel Becomes Transformed

In 1980 the characters that I wanted to incorporate into the original text finally began to appear. One in particular stirred me deeply right away: Brigida, a woman who dreams of her country's history and, of course, of the men who loved her. When I finished the story, the rest turned out to be quite easy: structure the two narratives in the manner of Faulkner in "The Wild Palms," alternating chapters of each story until the conclusion. While I was writing the new sections, just as with the previous version of "The Paper Eyes," they were read by the critical eyes of three good friends: Pablo Armando Fernandez, Cesar Lopez and Manuel Diaz Martinez. Finally, after much polishing and touching up, I completed the work under the title of "Brigida Was Able to Dream."

I was going to submit it again for publication in Cuba when two famous Ecuadorean writers, Pedro Jorge Vera and Eugenia Viteri, came to Havana in 1982. The two read my novel with excessive enthusiasm and asked me if they could take it back to Quito. It was the only neatly typed copy I owned, but who can say no to two close friends. Within a month I had received a response: the Ecuadorean publishing house El Conejo had decided to incorporate it into its schedule of publications and very promptly sent me the corresponding contract.

Poetic Justice

Pablo Armando Fernandez, who can converse with the same expressive magic that he conveys in his writings, speaks with almost obsessive frequency of poetic justice, which is as effective as or more so than the justice that man administers. His role in uncovering the plagiarism was truly an act of poetic justice, the work once again of happenstance. On a visit to Spain, where he was attending a writers congress, Pablo Armando chanced upon a book published under the signet of the Playor publishing house, entitled "Time Is the Devil" and signed by Ricardo Bofill. He began reading it and soon realized that he was familiar with the text. He kept on reading, half alarmed, half surprised, and at the end of the third page said to himself: "But this is Jose Lorenzo's novel." He bought it and showed it to me.

Indeed, the novel published by the Spanish publishing firm Playor was my novel "The Paper Eyes." It had not been changed in the slightest. Not a single

word had been omitted, and not a single comma had been shifted from the spot where I had enthusiastically placed it. Only the title had been changed, and it in fact was taken from a remark, in the opposite word order, by one of the characters.

After learning of the plagiarism, I thought that it would not be difficult to prove. Every literary work contains simple traps that defend its author. The task merely involved tracking down these traps to find the irrefutable proof. But the proof was even more obvious than I had initially suspected. It was more than just the draft of the book, with its handwritten modifications that revealed all of the craft that its creator had put into it; it was not just the unimpeachable testimony of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the winner of the Nobel prize for literature, who in March 1982 had published in the newspaper GRANMA an article entitled "Chronicle of My Death Foretold," in which he quoted a phrase from my novel, or the testimony of Pedro Jorge Vega, Eugenia Viteri, Cesar Lopez, Pablo Armando Fernandez and Manuel Diaz Martinez, writers of enormous prestige whose word no one doubts.

The evidence was, furthermore, irrefutable. The town in which the action takes place in the novel published by Playor, Mabujina, is an imaginary town, which I created just as William Faulkner created Yoknapatawpha or as Garcia Marquez created Macondo. This was easy to prove because in 1967, 19 years ago, I published in the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba a book entitled "The Seller of Days," in which two of the stories unfold in Mabujina. But there was still more. Certain characters in the novel, such as Dolores Gutierrez or Belen Ferreira, had not been chosen haphazardly; they bore the names of relatives of mine, as I have demonstrated by submitting the certifications of their respective birth records.

Meanwhile, I wondered: What will Bofill do now? What can he say to me? How will he explain this annoying matter? To dispel my doubts I decided to pay him a visit, accompanied by the poet Manuel Diaz Martinez, at his home in the Manana district in Guaymas. We arrived just as the first shadows of night were falling. Several curious neighbors got up from their armchairs in front of their television sets, their interest aroused by the two strangers who had suddenly shattered the local calm and who were being pursued by more than one barking mongrel. We were informed straightaway that Bofill had gone out for a walk, as he does every night, and that he might not be back until the wee hours of the morning. Glancing at each other, Diaz Martinez and I decided to wait for Bofill.

He returned 2 hours later. Having to call Bofill to account about the plagiarism was not pleasant for me, and even less so for him. He received us with obvious signs of nervousness. Before he sat down, we saw him walk back and forth, take a handkerchief out of his rear trouser pocket to wipe his forehead as if he were sweating profusely and approach the young woman who was with him to whisper something to her. When we began conversing and I showed him the book that Playor had put out, he looked surprised.

"How did you find out about it?" he asked me, as if that fact bothered him the most.

I explained it to him, while he asserted that it was all the result of a big mix-up, inasmuch as he had never authorized the book's publication nor signed a contract with the Spanish publishing house. I then pleaded with him, so as to forestall problems with the Ecuadorean publisher El Conejo, to write a letter to Mr Diego Cornejo, its managing director, because it was going to publish the book and would appreciate knowing the truth. "Of course," Bofill said. And he wrote the letter.

[Text of handwritten letter apparently signed by R. Bofill]

4 December 1985

Diego Cornejo
Managing Director
El Conejo Publishing
Quito, Ecuador

Dear Mr Conejo:

I am hereby informing you that for reasons totally beyond my control, inasmuch as I was in prison, a work entitled "Time Is the Devil" has been published. It belongs to the writer Jose Lorenzo Fuentes, who lent it to me under the title of "The Paper Eyes."

Sincerely yours,

R. Bofill

8743

CSO: 3248/481

CUBA

INSPECTIONS SHOW ENERGY-SAVING TIPS GOING UNHEEDED

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 15 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Joaquin Oramas]

[Text] In the past year the State Energy Inspection Office has issued more than 10,000 recommendations regarding deficiencies in the use of energy in production and service centers.

If these suggestions for the short, medium and long terms were implemented, from 250,000 to 300,000 tons of conventional fuel could be saved. According to the National Energy Commission, more than 40 percent of these ideas have not been properly heeded.

Among the organizations that pay the least attention to these measures are the sugar industry, the Local Organs of the People's Government, and the Agriculture Ministry, according to inspections carried out during the first quarter of this year.

It was also revealed that in the last quarter, state energy inspectors conducted 375 examinations of enterprises belonging to 17 agencies of the Central State Administration and Local Organs of the People's Government. They made more than 2,000 recommendations on the basis of those inspections.

Among the various methods of conservation are plugging leaks and other deficiencies in steam generation, and utilizing installed capacity.

The National Energy Commission will make the necessary contacts with the provincial party leadership and the energy conservation commissions in each province, so that steps can be taken to improve the administrations' attention to the suggestions made by the state energy inspectors. These recommendations are an effective means of making rational use of and reducing the consumption of electricity, fuels, and lubricants.

8926

CSO: 3248/459

CUBA

ENERGY INEFFICIENCIES IN MINEAS ENTERPRISES

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 25 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by Joaquin Oramas]

[Text] It can be said that the control and execution of measures to conserve energy and make rational use of it in unions and enterprises have not been given the devotion and importance they deserve.

This was pointed out at the 2nd Meeting of Areas of Energy Economy in Basic Industry, which will end today at the cadre school of the Ministry of Basic Industry (MINBAS) in our capital.

The central report discussed at the meeting asserts that because of the restrictions imposed on the allocation of energy, businesses have as a rule adopted measures to eliminate or reduce excess consumption, which actually falls into the category of waste.

It also expresses the need for each worker, technician or manager to monitor the use of fuels, electricity and lubricants, just as they monitor the fulfillment of the production plan, and to attribute equal importance to it. It adds that inspections of production and energy consumption should go hand in hand.

Another fundamental point refers to the fact that energy conservation is no longer a matter of eliminating waste—although where there is waste today it must be eradicated immediately and completely—but rather of applying technological advances, introducing scientific and technological innovations, and implementing them to increase efficiency, or establishing new processes that consume less energy.

A list of the enterprises and units of basic industry that have not met their percentage goals for recovering lubricants was released. Included on that list are establishments that spend large sums on those resources, which means to a great extent that products must be purchased with hard foreign currency.

Among these companies are the La Lisa Glass Enterprise, the Guantanamo Salt Company, the white paper plant of Jatibonico, the Benjamin Moreno Rubber

Enterprise, Electrical Industry Constructions, and Camaguey Construction and Assembly.

In addition, those attending the meeting discussed the implementation of the ideas contained in the papers presented at the 1st Energy Forum. It was noted that more aggressive action should be taken to put these measures into practice in basic industry as well as other sectors of our economy.

8926

CSO: 3248/459

CUBA

BRIEFS

MOVIE CASSETTES FOR RENT--The National Federation of Movie Clubs of Cuba, in conjunction with the cultural institutions under the jurisdiction of the Cuban Institute of Cinematographic Arts and Industry, will make available to video cassette player owners a wide variety of movies on video tape. These will include the most important films in world movie production. Cuban citizens interested in receiving this service may officially sign up beginning on 5 May at the offices of the National Film Distribution Center, located at 1218 25th Street, between 10th and 12th, Vedado, on business days between 800 and 1200 hours and 1330 and 1600 hours. To register, individuals must turn in a Beta video cassette, either blank or previously recorded, present their identification card, and report the brand, model, and serial number of their video player. Upon registration, the user will be informed in detail of the amount of money that must be paid to rent each film, the amount of time he may keep it, the titles he will be able to check out, and other aspects of this service. The films will be distributed as of the second half of June. [Text] [Havana GRANMA in Spanish 29 Apr 86 p 1] 8926

CSO: 3248/459

MEXICO

BISHOP LONA DISCUSSES TEHUANTEPEC CEB'S, POLITICAL GROUPS

Mexico City CHRISTUS in Spanish Mar 86 pp 36-46

[Article entitled: "The CEB's and Popular Movements in the Isthmus," by Monsignore Arturo Lona, bishop of Tehuantepec]

[Text] I am a bearer of greetings from the lovely, warm tropics: the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, land of encounter and communion. In our capacity, we are grateful for this unexpected invitation.

I have come to tell you an impassioned story; I have come to convey to you, in faith, "what our eyes have seen, what our ears have heard, what our hands have felt..the word of life is our theme" (1 Jn 1:1). It is the Spirit who has evoked these rich experiences; it is the Christian essence of the Church that has survived throughout history in the gentle breeze, and not in the hurricanes and powerful winds that belong to power and the erudite. We renounce power, pomp and fire, whether it be inside or outside of the Church. I have often wondered: Why Tehuantepec? I recall Francis of Assisi's experience in answering his monks' jealous questions: "Why you, Francis?" And the humble friar replied: "Even I don't know why?"

Our experience is located in Latin America; hence, it is not anything strange or unusual. We are part of the people who have been exploited and humiliated for ages. It is Tehuantepec that has also raised its cry to the God of Moses, to the liberating God, and there is no other God. We have experienced the captivity of poverty, ignorance, and exploitation. Thus, like the majority of Latin American peoples, we are an oppressed, believing people, in a process of liberation. These three features describe the moment of the process, like a dictated portrait. About 20 years ago, we were an oppressed and believing people, but asleep, resigned to our pain. These past few years have shown an awakening, a beginning, and a jolting of the soul of slaves; and, together, we are heading toward the formation of a free people.

It seems to me that this is due to two jolts: the popular movement and the Church of the poor have brought about an awakening and the incipient path "toward the new man and new society," in anticipation of the fullness of the Kingdom. A by no means easy path; in other words, harsh and cruel; but worth the trouble, provided we are prepared each day for dedication and sacrifice, so as to make possible the goal that we have set for ourselves with the aid of the Spirit.

I am no theoretician; my knapsack is fed with experience. However, I shall first try to describe the people's rise in the region; secondly, how the CEB's [Grassroots Church Communities] are faring; and, thirdly, the experience of the CEB's and popular movements. Finally, if you can stand me, I shall offer a few clues to the future, by way of conclusion.

Rise of the Popular Movement in Tehuantepec

The social context in which these movements arise will, I think, help to give a reminder of and the position of the region. It is not an exhaustive analysis of the reality.

The Economic Realm

The Diocese of Tehuantepec has 25,000 square kilometers; in other words, two thirds the size of the nation of El Salvador; the coast is rich in fish, and there are several lagoons rich in shrimp. In addition to the coast, the diocese has jungle, and both low and high mountains; therefore, the climate is varied.

Primary sector (agriculture-livestock): Located in the diocese is the No 19 irrigation system which uses the water of the Benito Juarez reservoir, with a capacity of 50,000 hectares. The ownership of the land, whether it be municipal, an Indian town, or a private area, is a constant source of conflicts, some very serious, as in the case of Juchitan. The Chontal mountain land is very poor. In the Mixe and Zapoteca area of the mountain range coffee of excellent quality is produced; there are forests with fine wood. The Zoques area is jungle, and there is considerable livestock, while fish is plentiful. Shrimp, coffee, and fruit such as watermelon, other melons, and mangoes are exported.

The growing of narcotics plants is a constant pastoral concern.

The Indian peasants and fishermen are steeped in poverty and even wretchedness. The fact is that Oaxaca has been impoverished by the caciques, landholders, and monopolists, owing to the lack of credit for townspeople and "ejido" [Indian community-held farmland] members. The government programs never reach the countryside. It is an area with potential, but it has been exploited and impoverished by a few.

Secondary sector: With the demographic explosion from oil during the last 6 years, Tehuantepec received its share. In 1981, the Salina Cruz refinery, which is the most important industry in the area by far, began operating. At present, it refines 150,000 barrels a day, and its capacity is being expanded twofold. Also, oil is exported to Japan through the port of Salina Cruz; and gasoline and diesel oil are distributed throughout the Pacific from this port.

Salina Cruz has a drydock and a shipyard; there is a plan for an industrial port and an oil port, as well as the Alpha-Omega project.

There is a cement factory, "Cruz Azul," in Lagunas, Oaxaca, which in 1983 doubled its capacity from 2,000 to 4,000 tons a day.

During 1982, the "Jose Lopez Portillo" sugar mill began its operations, as did the Okey and Coca Cola bottling plants in Juchitan. Only workers affiliated with PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] "benefited" from them. The beer consumption is so large that we continue to honorably hold "first place in the entire republic."

Tertiary sector: The intense commerce that exists in the region is noteworthy; the leading shopping center is Juchitan which, until recently, was the second-ranking city in population after the capital. Ixtepec, Tehuantepec, and Matias Romer have a force for their business zone of influence. Zapoteca del Istmo is very suitable for trading.

Tourism is non-existent, except for a very extensive red-light district in Salina Cruz, for the oil workers, where Guatemalan and Salvadoran women participating are exploited.

The Political Realm

The PRI-government has its different tentacles: CNC [National Peasant Confederation], CCI [Independent Peasants Central Organization], CTM [Confederation of Mexican Workers], CNOP [National Confederation of Popular Organizations], etc. The PRI-government is supported in the area thanks to the groups controlled by caciques and rich landholders. Until only 2 years ago, Salina Cruz had a municipal president of the oil workers union. But both in the mountains, and in Juchitan and vicinity, PRI controls through caciques and rich individuals. This is its strength and its weakness; real strength, because it has control, and power for making people disappear, beating, etc.; and weakness, because the people who are beginning to wake up do not accept them; they are not popular, they are imposed.

In the region, especially on the coast, the people who wanted change have been cleverly subjugated by PPS [Popular Socialist Party], which depicts itself as the "party of the poor." It has a popular base and, in fact, has gained several municipalities, such as Zanatepec, and Jalapa del Marques. I shall discuss the popular movement extensively later. Suffice it to say that it is broad and has been expanding lately throughout the entire Isthmus.

The Cultural Realm

The topic is very rich, and invites dwelling on detailed descriptions making it possible to present a profile of the Isthmus cultures, its music, dance, and embroidery, in particular. Speaking of Tehuantepec means speaking of Indians, of their oppression, their gaiety, their love for singing, flowers, and water.

The diocese is predominantly Indian. There are nine well-defined Indian cultures: coast Zapotecas, Mixes, Chontales, Zoques, mountain Zapotecas, Huaves, Mazatecos, Chinantecos, and Mixtecos.

In comparison with the national mean, for better or worse, the Isthmus falls far below it with respect to schooling. The academic level in the prep and secondary schools is very low.

The mass media are still gaining an undeniable penetration, even in very remote places. Channels 2 and 13 are picked up on TV; pictures and ideas being conveyed have been having a great influence, as has radio, especially the local one. They are owned by rich merchants and landholders who, in times of conflict, create disinformation and slander; for example, in connection with the popular and Church movement in the region. The local newspapers are known to exist, but it is not known when they will appear or disappear.

The Church

On this occasion, I shall discuss the topic insofar as it will help to position the context of the communities. There are 25 parishes in the diocese, grouped into five outlying circuits. They have approximately 50 priests (15 religious) and 150 religious women (60 in colleges). Both in the mountains and on the coast, there is now a solid group of catechists and CEB leaders.

The diocese, as a whole has been acquiring an aspect very much its own. It appears as a happy, young Church, in solidarity with the poor and their liberation, which tries to work as a team, and not isolated, and does not seek privileges. In other words, the image of the venerable curate of the movie screen, or of the religious woman with her habit and wimple, is quite far removed from the new model of a servant that is emerging in Tehuantepec.

And, although in an incipient manner, one is already observing that new model of a Church in the CEB's. The religious parade in honor of Msgr Romero on 24 March was evidence and proof of the progress made by the organized, aware, Christian people.

Our pastoral project has been carried out from the base, from practice. The diocese's objective expresses it: "From solidarity and inclusion with the people..." We start from solidarity through liberating love for the poor. With them, we form communities made aware through liberating evangelization, to help form a popular Church and a just society. It is not a matter of talk. There are not many offices in Tehuantepec. Creativity and reflection come from concrete commitments. In our practice, we make the objective operative through the four diocesan priorities: analysis of the reality, Indian pastoral action, formation of agents, and CEB's which are lending an organic unity to this new way of living faith.

With this new method of experience with the Church of the CEB's, the catechesis, youth pastoral action, liturgy, etc., are being revised. And all this effort is having an undeniable impact on the knowledge and organization of the people, as I shall expand upon later.

I also wish to mention that, in this religious area, we have had strong pressure from the Church itself, unwilling to take the path according to Puebla.

Also to be considered is the constant offensive from the alienating sects, such as "Jehovah's Witnesses," the "Nazarenes," or the Mormons, etc. They are elements which are confusing and deeply dividing families and towns, and we must not close our eyes to their influence. They have an instruction which has an impact on simple people, and they take advantage of the lack of pastoral agents.

Popular Movements in Tehuantepec

With the frame of reference now delineated, albeit briefly, we shall next attempt to describe the leading popular movements in the area.

COCEI [Labor, Peasant, Student Coalition of the Isthmus]

It has its center in Juchitan, and its area of influence is mainly in the entire Zapoteca section of the coast, though not exclusively, as we shall observe.

It came into existence and gained strength after the plundering of community land that many Juchitan peasants suffered following the putting of irrigation zone 19 into operation, which brought about new entitlement. Municipal land was seized by landholders and rich cattlemen, who are still usurping it. This plunder, carried out in 1969, evoked dissatisfaction.

In 1973, several factors prompted the creation of COCEI: the awareness acquired by some Juchitan students who participated in the 1968 student movement; the division in the Juchitan PPS after Cruickshank's betrayal. A strong group promoted COCEI, as a result of the dissatisfaction of the plundered municipal residents (up until now, no election of new representatives of municipal assets has been allowed).

The work and organization of the COCEI grassroots during the following years are an example for many organizations, which only have a name as such. The leaders are really entrenched among their people. They are gaining confidence, and helping the people to understand the problems and to find solutions. In 1977, they suffered violent repression, and several members of COCEI were killed. On that occasion, I had an opportunity to help curb the repression, and this helped to begin opening paths for dialogue.

COCEI did not come into being from the Church's consciousness-raising and organizing effort. It emerged outside, and among some of its leaders with ideological blocks against religion. Its grassroots are simple Christians.

The grassroots effort and skill of its leaders have achieved good results, when they won the municipality of Juchitan, in a tactical alliance with PSUM [Unified Socialist Party of Mexico]. They have taken advantage of circumstances to create awareness and to make improvements that none of the previous administrations had achieved, despite the economic blockade or embargo to which they

have been subjected. The period 1981 was one of obvious growth. COCEI's influence even extends to areas of the Zoques (Chimalapas), Mixes (Guichicovi), and Huaves (San Dionisio, and San Francisco del Mar). In the Zapoteca area, it extends from Ixhuatan to Ixtepec.

The then liberated area of Juchitan ended with the ouster of Polo de Gyves in August 1983. The Army and state police entered, and they are still there. The repression has all the force of the system; therefore, it is confined to certain methods that will not besmirch Mexico's free and democratic facade abroad. In other words, it avoids shooting to kill. The wounds are inflicted on legs.

During this recent period, COCEI, after a tactical withdrawal and reorganization of its grassroots work, has been in a state of slow progress at the grassroots. They have launched Polo de Gyves as a candidate for federal deputy.

During the time of repression, the COCEI members experienced the solidarity of the committed communities of Tehuantepec. This surprised them, and allows for an open dialogue on faith and the liberation processes; because in Juchitan there had been little following of this popular movement by the parish.

UCIRI

This organization came into existence only 3 years ago, in connection with the coffee problems. To date, it has combined over 3,000 Indian coffee growers. The advent of this organization stems from the pastoral work done by the Santa Maria Guinagati team. About 10 years ago, this team began its work in the mountains, and in time they tried to form leavening groups. Various restless leaders emerged from that, who engaged in organizing and giving confidence to other brothers.

The opportunity gained to export coffee to Europe was the detonating factor for the coffee growers' organization. Several towns made a private agreement and sent their coffee to Europe. The results opened their eyes, because they had in their possession money that they had been unable to gather for several seasons. This weakened the "coyotes" [middlemen] and INMECAFE [Mexican Coffee Institute] in that area. The story was conveyed from one town to another, and the organization grew. This incipient organization has the challenge of creating a solid political awareness and, at the same time, responding to the challenges of evangelizing these towns on the move.

In contrast to COCEI, UCIRI has arisen from the impetus given by the Guinagati team's pastoral work. Thus, its spread has at times been carried out by pastoral agents, for example, in Tapachula, or San Cristobal.

CNTE [National Coordinating Board of Education Workers]-Local 22

The recent teachers' movement, CNTE, has one of its most solid bases in Local 22, that is, Oaxaca. Although it is true that the most aware democratic portion is located in the central area of Oaxaca, they have a good group in the Isthmus area which is already showing up as a clear majority ahead of Revolutionary Vanguard.

The teachers' struggles for economic demands have generally had but few repercussions among the peasants, because the peasants are told: "You have to hold onto the government somewhere." But the population's increasing dissatisfaction with poverty and the democratic nature of Local 22's latest battle in Oaxaca have netted them strong support from the populace.

Parents' committees are beginning to acquire awareness. Moreover, the work done in these committees of parents, who are living their faith in the CEB's has been providing a better base for the teachers' struggles. In various locations where the CEB's are on the rise, as in the case of Salina Cruz, CNTE has found greater willingness among parents.

Other Movements

There are many local popular movements in the diocese which are less well known, because they do not yet have much strength, or they are quite small. I shall name a few by way of example:

Tequisistlan Democratic Front: It rose up against the local "caciques" affiliated with PRI. The latter controlled the land and the local marble factory. The opponents managed to form an opposition front which soon gained the support of most of the factory workers and the population. It managed to win, and take over the factory. But the front later disintegrated, owing to internal disputes.

The process of struggle was followed by the pastoral team; but problems within that team itself have impeded better cooperation at times of conflict.

Chontal People's Supreme Council: Like that of other Indian tribes, this Supreme Council has at times had the backing of the various peoples who comprise the Chontal tribe; and, on other occasions, it has had only a few people, without a social base.

ATEI: It is the branch of COCEI which came into existence in 1980, developing from 1981 to 1983. Upon the repression of COCEI, it too was hard hit, but it is still organized and working at the grassroots.

The CEB's in Tehuantepec

Now that we have the social and Church context, I shall move on to a brief description of the CEB's recent history on the Isthmus. For this purpose, I shall base my remarks on significant periods that will make it possible to establish their time.

1965: Together with the Universal Church, Tehuantepec received the impetus from the Council: inculturation, remaking community life, being a sacrament in the service of the world.

1968: Medellin arrived to jolt us with its summons to justice and liberation of the poor. The issue of liberating evangelization, and how to accomplish it, was opened.

1971: Search for solidarity and service to the Indians.

1978: At the Pastoral Agents Assembly, the diocesan objective was created, which would mark the path and commitment of Tehuantepec's particular Church.

1980: Special evaluation of the past 10 years of the diocese's pastoral activity. On this occasion, very valuable assistance was given by bishops from Brazil, Peru, and Nicaragua, as well as some Mexican bishops. Also present were several experts, for example, in Indian pastoral activity (CENAMI), theology, sociology, etc.

This evaluation and projection of pastoral work really demarcated a before and an after. Many experiences were gathered and assessed. And, as a result, they began working with greater coordination and common goals. Therein lies the seed of a joint pastoral activity. This would have its center in the formation of the CEB's in various sectors of the diocese: worker, peasant, Indian. The old and new ministries would go to live in these communities.

1981: Tehuantepec holds the 10th National Meeting of Grassroots Church Communities. The incipient work is stimulated and reinforced. This meeting had the tone inherent in the Indian context of the South Pacific region.

1982: We hold the first Diocesan Meeting of CEB's. It was evoked by the need for a better relationship and integration of the CEB's in the diocese. Particular reflection was made on the new community method of living faith. People from the Mixe, Chontal, coast Zapoteca, and mountain Zapoteca tribes participated actively.

1983: Workshop on the existence and activity of the CEB's in Tehuantepec. The brief but rich experience of the CEB's in the diocese evoked the need for this workshop. It was attended by 80 pastoral agents from 18 parishes. It was a high point on the path toward correcting and explaining our experience, as well as projecting it into the future. A probe was made of the CEB's' spirituality, and the challenges that it would have among various sectors; for example, in Indian areas where work is done as a people, and not in small groups.

1984: We collaborate and participate in the First Regional Meeting at San Cristobal las Casas; an important occasion of meeting among the South Pacific dioceses working in CEB's. An awareness was achieved that there are problems with common roots. Although there was a notable Indian presence, it was not to the extent that would reflect the reality in our region. Probing into the matter of the CEB's in the Indian world and their political participation, emerged as a challenge.

1985: We have just held the First Meeting of CEB Leaders in the diocese. Furthermore, it is now coordinated and led by the leaders themselves, with the aid of a few advisers. The leaders' experience was heard, and was a source of better awareness of their responsibility as apostles in their communities and among their people. One began to discern the local Church really impelled by these leaders: peasants, fishermen, Indians, poor women, and young people.

The popular Church of Tehuantepec began to appear, and to acquire specific features, amid contradictions, suffering, and joy.

These occasions may help to form an image of the process that some parishes and groups have been undergoing in Tehuantepec, along the evangelizing line established by Medellín and Puebla.

The CEB's and the Popular Movements on the Isthmus

The CEB's came into being based on the social situation of the people themselves with their religiosity. There are groups which also have the CEB's' spirit, with different features, depending on their individual history, origin, following, and maturing processes. It is the participation and the communion (Puebla) of the people in the Church's Christian activity that has been gradually breaking the traditional system: on the one hand, clerical, with their control of power and distribution of spiritual goods based on the laws established by the clergy; and, on the other, lay: the parishioners, the submissive sheep. The CEB's put following Jesus first (remaking) the Church, as the people of God, called and won by Jesus. This popular participation is an alternative that is not only worthwhile probing, but also backing. It is the alternative of the meeting with God, or with a biblical movement that presumes God to be manifested only in hurricanes and powerful winds as Yahweh manifested himself to Elijah on Mount Horeb (I Kings, 19:11-13). But, paradoxically, God is found in the gentle breeze where it would not occur to anyone to seek him.

In the past, the Church sought solutions among the powerful and the erudite (and to some extent it is still doing so). But the proper wisdom is not found there. The Christian aspect of the Church throughout history has survived in this gentle breeze, in non-power.

The question: What is meant by "the CEB's participation in the popular movements" and to what extent does it exist?

The question has its danger and ambiguity; it implies that there are two areas: the popular movements, and the CEB's participation in them. This could distort the reality, because there have always been Christians, whether organized or not, who have participated in popular movements in one way or another, with or without Church approval. And it could also be a methodological obstacle, because CEB's and popular movements are two realities which at times it is attempted to combine or intermingle. For needy people, the defense of their lives (something quite Christian) and their possessions comes first: "Man does not live on bread alone, but he lives on bread too." He is faced with a growing technocracy (with all its devices for exploitation, social conflict, formation of social classes, etc.), in which democracy is being annihilated, faced with this advanced capitalist system (whether dependent or not, it is a matter of degree). Types of modern democracy must be invented, giving each person not only the opportunity to be informed and to express his opinion, but also to commit himself with a mutual responsibility. In this way, human groups gradually become transformed into communities of participation and life.

This is the universality of the Gospel message that applies to every believer and unbeliever. It is the freedom of the children of God. In this way, the freedom which is affirmed too often and easily as a claim to autonomy, in opposition to the freedom of others, develops in its human reality and becomes more profound: becoming committed and desirous of achieving active, living solidarity. To the Christian, man finds true renewed freedom in the death and resurrection of the Lord, abandoning himself to God who has liberated him (Phil 2:5-8). Jesus became man and also a servant, not because of a masochistic desire, but in obedience to life and to his God, whom he called "Father."

How do I observe that the CEB's are interrelated or interconnected with the popular movements?

We have a little of everything in the diocese, but the force (in addition to being a priority) is the CEB's and the popular groups. We shall attempt to devise a typology of the relationship that the CEB's have with the popular movements (indirect, direct, contrary, etc., relationship). The main focal point of the popular movements on the Isthmus, as we have said before, is COCEI, which for awhile combined many groups, and is still operating now, with personal membership (agreements), under different names and with different styles.

I have gleaned from personal experience the different processes in which our groups are involved, and their relationship with popular movements.

Mutual aid and coexistence:

The first step for any group, whether large or small, is its formation, the mutual understanding among the participants, and the creation of an atmosphere of confidence among equals. It is an experience in popular education and communication; a first time that creates and can create the conditions making it possible for the process to advance. When the people "have their say," which they had never before been able to express, which never before had been asked or taken into consideration, a process of liberation, and personalization begins. The poor begin to feel like subjects, and no longer objects of the boss, the politician, the news media, the priest....

The vast majority of CEB's and groups called by pastoral agents or leaders trained by these pastoral agents began in this way. But this first phase became the grave of many groups which did not manage to move from their personalization process to the discovery of their social nature. For lack of follow-up, or, in many instances, for lack of clarity and conversion among the agents, these groups became bogged down in this process and died as a group. The love of neighbor that is practiced in these groups is really for the one next to them; in other words, for the relative, and the other members of the group. In this situation, we can hardly talk about unity; rather it is a process of individual personalization, which can become "individualized" and curtail the process.

It is a first experience, a phase of popular education, without a plan, and without organization outside the group.

Assistance groups:

These are groups which in some way have moved from coexistence to becoming set up as a group for others, engaged in "works of charity." There is discovered the need for carrying out collective action to help one's neighbor, to visit the sick and those in prison, to aid widows, poor (or the poorest) people, to organize bazaars, collections, etc. They are groups which make a first contact with other groups and popular movements (striking workers, peasants holding a march, etc.)

We could say that, from the standpoint of these groups, there is no relationship with the popular movements; because they see in the striking workers or marching peasants "brothers with problems," isolating them from their state of structural oppression and from the organized response which they are giving as oppressed people. They do not become integrated into the movement. They view the struggling brothers with sympathy, without being very well informed about the background. This first contact with the movements may be a genuine stirrer of knowledge, and possibly a step toward greater integration. Herein, the leader's role (whether he be an agent or a layman) is important: he may hamper the progress, or may follow it to maturation, or he may move in leaps and bounds. A little of everything has happened to us.

Solidary groups:

Many of the CEB's groups are in this phase (the previous ones died or remained in the sacristy, or returned to the bar, or made connection with brothers in the sectors, or are still maturing). Their relationship with the more organized movements is one of solidarity and backing. It differs from the help in the form of assistance and charity, because here the strikers or peasants are already won over as a "struggling people, as an organized movement, and not just as other poor brothers or brothers somewhat accelerated. The social conflicts that are plentiful in the area, the repression, the economic and political caciquism, the plunder of land, the lack of work, etc., have allowed them to become aware that there is something more behind the phenomena; and they begin to discern unjust structures, and feel the need to become organized, to let themselves be organized and connected. They reflect on the situation in the area of the country. Their relationship with the movements is one of solidarity and understanding. They are not inside, nor is there any organic relationship; and there is not always direct, concrete, solidarity with their own countrymen. There are groups expressing their solidarity with the people of El Salvador (which is a good thing), without engaging in an act of solidarity with an organized group, or being ready to fight in their own town, or barrio, because they are afraid (vestiges of processes of oppression and control) or because of obstacles (the dear father, or sister who refuses to leave the group). Here, again, there is a little of everything, objective and subjective factors.

Cooperative groups:

These are groups which (as a group or as members thereof) have discovered the need for uniting in order to improve their living standards, and to combat mutual problems. They are CEB's which become a small popular organization to deal with concrete problems; or they also create different organizations, but their own, activated by them: savings funds, consumer cooperatives for supplies, transportation, production, etc. They are germs of a popular organization. They learn to analyze their situation and create organizations to provide immediate responses.

They are not a popular movement, because their action is to make demands. They do not come into direct confrontation with the state or with its overall policy, but only deal with certain aspects or effects of the government's antipopular policy, of a state in economic crisis. There is the danger that, when they solve their problems, the groups may disappear. But this is an important step wherein the leaders' role is important: to accumulate collective organizational experience, and to constantly deal with new problems that cover the whole spectrum of life (from the economic, they can jump to the cultural, the political, etc.); and they discover that the struggle for freedom is something vital and for life. The interrelationship of these groups is important: meetings, common positions, internal solidarity, and discovering the common "enemy."

There are CEB's groups which operate nicely in their cooperative, but which are incapable of giving solidarity to others. They form Christian ghettos, and eventually die, generally because of internal disputes, because there is not sufficient clarity about the enemy. But as soon as they move toward popular organizations or regional popular movements: CONASUPO [National Company for Basic Commodities], or national ones such as CNPA [National Coordinating Board for the Ayala Plan], etc., they tend to join them.

Incorporated groups:

There are some CEB's groups which have become incorporated into the popular movements as such; there is a tendency that, since CEB's may disappear or establish a "partisan" affiliation with the popular movements, with their laws, discipline, etc., to overlook their voluntary participation with groups of CEB's, their former comrades. There are members of CEB's who militate in popular movements or in opposition (left) political parties, and who maintain a deep Christian sympathy and motivation, but who prefer to lead their Christian lives in the form of political militancy. They show up again in CEB's occasionally, or in the church, etc. Herein there is an unsolved problem of the CEB's: either it is a school for learning, or it is far more. I think that it is (should be) far more. Perhaps we have not yet finished learning enough about the experiences in Brazil, the Philippines, Nicaragua, etc., to sustain the constant tension of a "Church on the move." The myopia of many (parties in particular) concerning popular movements ("stealing parishioners" "gaining votes") is not helpful in this regard either.

We need some relatively clear "demarcations." There are problems of "litigation" not yet solved, either by the Church or by politicians. Behind all this lies the question: What policy should be carried out from right now into the future? I am not concerned over what is going to happen in the year 2000, but rather in the next 10 years; and I am more concerned, because the Mexican left is doing so poorly.

A Few Conclusions

"The Church on the move" involves more than the groups called CEB's, because it reaches the Indian peasant movements that want to express their Christian faith in more extensive popular organizations. They should be the conscience and offer a critical sense to the Christians who start with the idea that only God is Father, and who do not heed the popular party or movement, regardless of how good it may be, to make this critical conscience remain faithful to democratic and cooperative ideals and to the common welfare (the citizen does not live on political words alone). I think that it would be a mistake to make the organizations (Church and popular movement) a single entity, with the same goals. A Christian party of the left also seems fatal to me, one such as the right wing (or center) Christian Democratic Party, it doesn't matter which. I believe that the CEB's, as CEB's, should be primarily a liberating, religious force above suspicion; and the broader non-denominational organizations should bear the burden of the effort on behalf of justice and a new society.

The CEB's are by nature a revolutionary concept, because they literally assign the Church as their head. They are not a movement along with others such as: the charismatics, "cursillo" [lay spiritual movement] members, night worshippers, Catholic Action, etc., because they do not touch the structure of the society nor of the Church either. The CEB's are and must be different. They have been depicted as another form of parochial-diocesan renewal, whereas they are really totally radical alternatives to the parochial structure. If the true nature of the CEB's is understood, they may prove to be a threat to certain bishops and priests who are trying to remove them, if they cannot reject them directly. Even the most totalitarian governments talk about popular participation, and fear their own community organizers.

We bishops and priests have a role to play in the CEB's: it is essentially one of service. Dom Antonio Frago (Brazil) describes this role as one of accompanying the people, a difficult, critical role for which many of us are not prepared. We priests and bishops are servants of the truth for the people, as well as servants of the Eucharist, and signs of unity between the CEB's and the Universal Church.

We have two courses of action: to continue with the Vatican II (Medellin/Puebla) reforms which logically lead to the Christian and Grassroots Church Communities, or else to try to restore a different, more centralized system. It is my hope and prayer that we shall have the wisdom to see that God is not in the wind, in fire, or in earthquake but rather in the gentle breeze,

to which I think we can, without too much distortion, compare the movement of the Holy Spirit among the poor and among the CEB's.

Projections

I said that the progress is recent, but really significant, and we can say it impassionately, with the passion of one seeking to overcome injustices which cry out to heaven, and aspiring and sighing for a popular society and a popular Church. Although our reality has its specific possibilities in the region, nevertheless it is obviously closely related to the nation as a whole. In other words, we cannot dissociate our struggle from the national struggle and progress. Bearing this in mind, I shall cite a few points or projections in our region:

How can one follow the process of the COCEI from a pastoral standpoint? It is easy to say that there is no contradiction between COCEI and the Church of the poor; but there is no identification either. Or else the Church has not taken sides. In fact, the Church of Tehuantepec is observed to be increasingly distancing itself from the historical plan of the "caciques," and more closely approaching the popular plan of the COCEI.

The CEB's are progressing. What should be done with the agents who have a different pastoral line? While carrying out a plan, at every step taken one notes more the difference with other plans still heading in an opposite direction. What can be done not to break the unity, the cane that is still steaming? I certainly understand something about what we call pluralism, which seems to me to be a great progress in the Church. How can we talk about pluralism when the historical objectives and mediations are opposed, and one communes only in utopia?

The system's ideological war against Juchitan will break out again. This is normal. The strong person defends himself with anything so as not to lose power. The Church of Tehuantepec is helping with a theology that is suffering more persecution every day. This entails living in political conflict, for which we are often not sufficiently prepared. And there are people in between. We need a better political training. The Zapoteca Indians in COCEI have shown us and given an example of their political ability.

The increase in the aware people organized in the CEB's is a tempting morsel for the political organizations. Their job is to spread. We need a great deal of political work in the CEB's to enable their members to participate more effectively in the popular movement. Now then, it is the political militants who often are the ones most capable of offering that training. Such training can be gained from their experience. This is a challenge that is hastening in the area, because of the COCEI's political strength and its influence.

I thank you for your invitation, and trust in the Lord that some of the experience that I have attempted to convey to you will heighten your enthusiasm and affection for the Indian and the poor, and move us to serve them all our lives, as Christ has exemplified for us.

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MEXICO

BRIEFS

NUEVO LEON WORKER DISMISSALS--Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, 31 May--CTM's [Confederation of Mexican Workers] secretary for organization in the state, Elias Zuniga, observed that, during the first quarter of the year, between 30,000 and 40,000 part-time and permanent workers were dismissed from companies in the automotive, construction, and metalworking branches of industry. He noted that, with the closing of the Monterrey Foundry and its Flat Steel branch, the number of unemployed during the first half of this year could reach 60,000. He commented: "This is serious, because the stomach has no ideologies, either of the right or of the left." Zuniga said that the current situation, caused by the economic crisis, could end up in a social chaos that would be undesirable; and that, in three firms alone, the number of layoffs has totaled 1,100 employees.[Excerpt] [[Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 1 Jun 86 STATES section p 1] 2909

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